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# Early Christian Literature Primers

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THE

FATHERS & THIRD CENTURY

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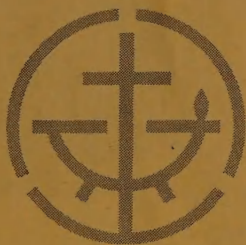
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EARLY CHRISTIAN LIT-  
ERATURE PRIMERS,  
*edited by Professor* GEORGE P. FISHER,  
D. D., LL. D.

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE PRIMERS.

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I. THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS, AND THE APOLOGISTS,  
A. D. 95-180.

II. THE FATHERS OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

*In preparation:*

THE POST-NICENE GREEK FATHERS.

THE POST-NICENE LATIN FATHERS.

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Early Christian Literature Primers.

*Edited by Professor* GEORGE P. FISHER, D. D.

THE FATHERS  
OF THE  
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# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, A. D. 180-325.

A. D.	ROMAN EMPERORS.	A. D.	GREEK WRITERS.	A. D.	LATIN WRITERS.	A. D.	CHRISTIAN WRITERS.
		180 183	Numenius. Aristeides <i>ob.</i> Pollux.			180	<i>A.</i> Irenæus. Maximus. Theophilus of Cæsarea. Serapion. Polycrates. Pantænus. Rhodon.
180-192	Commodus.	190	Sextus Empiricus.		Julius Paulus.		
192	Pertinax.						
193	Julian.						
193-211	Septimius Severus.	200	Galenus. Alexander of Aphr. Ammonius Saccas. Oppianus.	210	Obsequens. Palludius.		Asterius Urbanus.
211-217	Caracalla.	211	Diogenes Laertius. Philostratus.	216	Serenus Sammonicus.	210	Caius.
217-218	Macrinus.		Antonius Diogenes. Ælianus.			216	Minucius Felix.
218-222	Heliogabalus.	222	Athenæus. Dion Cassius.		Papinian. Ulpian.	217	<i>ob.</i> Clement of Alexandria.
222-235	Alexander Severus.	228 230	Origenes.	230	Cælius Apicius? Censorinus.	220 222	<i>ob.</i> Tertullian. Julius Africanus.
235-238	Maximin. The Gordians. Maximus. } Balbinus. }		Herodianus.	238			<i>ob.</i> Hippolytus.
238-244	Gordianus.	240					
244-249	Philip.						
249-251	Decius.						Alexander of Jerus'm. <i>A.</i> Novatian.

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, A. D. 180-325.—(Continued.)

A. D.	ROMAN EMPERORS.	A. D.	GREEK WRITERS.	A. D.	LATIN WRITERS.	A. D.	CHRISTIAN WRITERS.
251-253	Gallus					253	<i>ob.</i> Origen.
253-260	Valerian.					258	<i>ob.</i> Cyprian. Pontius.
260-268	Gallienus.					265	<i>ob.</i> Dionysius of Alex'ria.
268-270	Claudius.					265	Dionysius of Rome.
270-275	Aurelian.	270	Plotinus <i>ob.</i>			270	<i>ob.</i> Greg'y Thaumaturgus.
275-276	Tacitus.	273	Longinus <i>ob.</i>				
276	Florianus.						
276-282	Probus.					278	Archelaus.
282-283	Carus.					279	Macarius Magnus.
283-284	Numerianus.					283	Anatolius Laodicea.
284-285	Carinus.						Pierius.
							Malchio.
						285	Theognostus.
							Phileas.
284-303	Diocletian.			285	Calpurnius.	300	Theonas.
286-303	Maximian.			288	Nemesian.		Alexander of Lycop'lis.
292-311	Galerius.			300	Spartianus.	304	Peter of Alexandria.
292-306	Constantius.	305	Gentilianus Amerius.	300	Vulcatius.	307	Pamphilus.
304-307	Severus.		Porphyr'y <i>ob.</i>	303	Vopiscus.	312	Methodius.
304-313	Maximin.		Aphthonius.		T'rebellius Pollio.		Antonius.
306-312	Maxentius.		Menander.	310	Lampridius.		Commodianus.
306-337	Constantine.		Iamblicus.	310	Capitolinus.	325	Lactantius.
307-324	Licinius.						Victorinus.
							Arnobius.
						326	Alexander of Alex'ria.

## PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE THIRD CENTURY.

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IF the second century is recognized as the formative period of the church, the third century should be termed its aggressive period. Already in the second century we see the new faith beginning to appreciate its dignity, not only as a spiritual renovator, but also as a system of truth, which may assert itself in opposition to the decaying philosophic systems, and to the careless agnosticism of such jesters as Lucian. With the writers of our present period this feeling is more marked. "Apolo-  
gies" are still occasionally written, even as late as the beginning of the fourth century, but the prevailing writings, which are now so numerous as to constitute a veritable literature, are works setting forth systematically the fundamental Christian doctrines, or works in refutation of heretical teachings, in all of which there is an evident purpose and expectation to win new adherents to the faith. The progress made was simply marvelous. While at the beginning of the reign of Commodus, Christianity, though somewhat widely disseminated, was only a

feeble sect, but just coming to be distinguished from Judaism and from various despised Oriental religions, the close of our era, A. D. 325, leaves the once despised believers the controlling power in the empire, the Emperor their avowed champion, and the whole machinery of the state employed to convene a council of the church. Progress was made as well in new fields as in those before occupied. During this time we have evidence of conquests of the gospel in Britain, new portions of Gaul, Rhenish Germany, Spain, Proconsular Africa, with Numidia and Mauritania, Upper Egypt, Arabia, Persia, and Armenia. The interior progress in the older parts of the empire is marked by the building of houses of worship, by the open patronage of Christianity by several of the emperors, and, quite as decidedly, by the intensity of the persecutions by opposing emperors. Whereas the persecutions in former times had been either local or carried on as a precautionary measure against some future overthrow of the state religion, now they are undertaken with the spirit of those who fight for their own existence. "What," says the sacerdotal power behind the throne, "shall become of the state religion, and what of the state itself, if decisive measures are not taken against these public enemies? Already calamities are multiplying upon us by reason of their neglect of the sacrifices; they or we must be exterminated." Under Decius, therefore, it is determined to blot out utterly the noxious faith. In every province all Christians are summoned to appear and offer sacrifice. Persuasions, torture—all possible inducements—are used to make

them deny the faith, efforts not wholly without success. In the prosperous times many had come into the church who were not prepared for this baptism of fire, and so great was the number of the "lapsed" that it became a serious question in the churches how they were to be dealt with on their return. Still the lapsed were but few compared with those who would not sacrifice. All previous efforts having proved futile, one last and desperate persecution was undertaken under Diocletian and Galerius, and continued several years. All, however, was in vain. Galerius, in A. D. 311, was compelled to confess his persecutions a failure, a step soon followed by the victory of Constantine, gained under the banner inscribed "*Hoc vince*," and by rescripts giving full toleration to Christianity, and followed not long after by the virtual adoption of the faith as the religion of the empire.

But these external movements were only the outcome of something beneath the surface. The third century was a period of deep and serious thought. The age of the Antonines, that "felicitous era" when the old civilization reached its culmination, was an age of shallow thought and of poverty of moral purpose; an "Age of Rhetoric," an art which even the laughing Lucian tells us that he had cast off because "she was always painting her face and tiring her head"; an age whose very religion was, confessedly, only a matter of police. Under Commodus and his successors, however, that season of thoughtless content gave place to a period of anxiety. Civil wars, foreign encroachments upon the empire, together with numerous natural calami-

ties, conspired to give a more serious tone to life. Questions began to be frequent which had but little place in that age of prosperity, questions which only deep and sober thought could answer. Christianity was not alone in tendering a solution to these. There had been serious ages before in heathen history, in which men had queried about the conditions and aims of human life. Of all the reasonings in reply, the Platonic philosophy had come nearest to giving an answer; and now, in the modified form of Neo-Platonism, that philosophy is revived. Aided by truths which may have come, through Alexandria, from Judea and the East, Numenius and Ammonius Saccas, and Plotinus and Porphyry, elaborated a system which offered no mean food to inquiring minds. At first these thinkers were rather favorable than otherwise toward Christianity; but, working side by side, the radical difference between a religion and a philosophy soon appeared, and the later Neo-Platonists actively opposed the faith. But, though offering the highest form of thought yet presented to men apart from revelation, Neo-Platonism did not satisfactorily answer the questions which the age was asking, and—its fatal defect—offered no hope to its struggling millions, pointed to no saving power to lift men above what they were being forced to call this present evil world. Christianity did offer such hope, did point to such a power, not with the passiveness of philosophy, but with an earnestness which implied the desperate needs of those to whom it spoke. Then, too, Christianity was getting past that stage in which the faithful, separating themselves from the



world, were only waiting until, at the Lord's coming, all-things earthly should be destroyed. There is evinced more and more the feeling that Christianity has come to stay—that, instead of a power in antagonism with the world, it is a power for the renovation, not simply of individual hearts, but also of society—of the great world itself.

Thus, working by the side of, and in a sense as a competitor with, a learned and sincere philosophy, and at the same time conscious of a power transcending all philosophy, it is no wonder that Christianity produced in this age such writers as Irenæus, and Hippolytus, and Clement, and Tertullian, and Cyprian; it accords, indeed, with all our expectations of such an age that it should offer the high thinking and the Christian living of its Origen. Thought this was which could only be reached by an age in which philosophy vied with a pure religion for the benefiting of the world; living this was worthy of a time in which blood was shed like water for conscience' sake—in which men verily believed that whosoever loveth his life shall lose it, but whosoever loseth his life for Christ's sake shall find it.

The internal development of the church, apart from its writings, demands a moment's thought. As will be seen in the essay on the Latin writers, the age recorded the beginning of a new type of Christianity, the practical, the judicial, the administrative religion of the West. But, in addition to this new departure, there was a gradual progress, both East and West, in the clear apprehension of the relations and harmony of the great Christian doc-

trines. There was also a change and readaptation of the customs of worship from the simplicity which marked them in earlier days to the more formal character required by large congregations meeting in edifices used exclusively for Christian worship. Whatever traces of a liturgy may be found in the primitive days, there certainly was during this period a large development in the direction of liturgical services. Whether any of the ancient eucharistic offices which have come down to us date from the third century is very uncertain, but such antiquity is claimed for the liturgies of Jerusalem and Alexandria, and for the Clementine office.

Another noticeable change effected during this period is in the more marked separation of the clergy from the laity—the constituting, indeed, of a clerical order, which, forbidden to exercise any ordinary business function, is supported wholly by the church.

# GREEK WRITERS.

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## INTRODUCTION.

WE are often enough reminded that among the providential preparations for Christianity was the perfecting and disseminating of the Greek language as a vehicle for the new revelation. A fact of perhaps deeper significance was that the new faith was first committed to the Greek mind as its custodian. In the period of the world into which Christianity came—the classical age—progress was made, not as in our modern age, but by races. Three distinct types of culture were elaborated, and each by its own people, viz., the religious culture of the Hebrews, the intellectual culture of the Greeks, and the disciplinary culture of the Romans. Christianity came as a power to universalize the first and divinest of these. No longer a prerogative of the one little people who had been given to see the Unseen, a spiritual apprehension of God was now to be made the heritage of the race. But, though the spiritual was the divinest of the elements thus wrought out, it was only one of three, all of which the history of that age proved to be necessary for

the complete culture of the race. Christianity, therefore, as chiefest of the three, must both do her own distinctive work and take care that the other two also become universal and combine harmoniously with her own training. This affiliation must be brought about by the ultimate assimilation of the other elements by herself—the incorporation of Greece and Rome within a universalized Judea. More was therefore done when the Gospels were written in Greek than to gain an instrument for wide communication. The first step was taken toward the synthesizing of those several cultures by whose union the race is one day to stand erect in the divine likeness. It is noteworthy that, though the last of the two elements to be mastered, the intellectual was the first with which Christianity allied herself. The Author of Christianity had lived most of his life in a Roman province; his death and resurrection were witnessed by Roman officials; thus affording, it might seem, a point of contact between the faith and the Latin world. As a fact, however, the Latin world knew comparatively little of Christianity for more than a century after its establishment. It is not hard to understand why. Latinism, unlike Hellenism, was not yet a fully developed culture. When so developed, Christianity was to lay hold upon it, and, for more than a thousand years, devote itself to the work of its subordination. Meantime, however, the new faith turns to the Greeks. In Greek it is written, in Greek it is preached, in Greek form it is apprehended, and by Greek methods it is organized and propagated. A Greek breadth of thought prevails, and, to appear-

ances, all that is best in the Hellenic culture is to be assimilated by the Christian teachers. Pointing the world to God, and making spiritual truth universal, they seem likely to formulate this truth with the grasp of philosophers; bestowing upon mankind what has been until now the prerogative of Judea, they seem destined to bestow what has been the prerogative of Greece and her colonies. But this prospect is deceptive. The time is not yet for universalizing this Hellenic element. A complete synthesis can be had only after all the elements are elaborated in detail. Besides, there are impending days of revolution and dissolution, when the conduct of the world will be a more important trust than its thinking. All that Christianity does now, therefore, is, to use a provincial phrase, to "pre-empt" Greek thought and pass by to Latin life. When Alexander the Great set out on his career of conquest, he dared not simply to invest Tyre and then march to the East. He must needs sit down before the city and actually raze it before he could proceed. The campaign which we are considering had no such timorous leader. He with whom a thousand years are as a day is in no haste. He, therefore, only invests the city, only retains the vigor of the church in Greek hands long enough to affirm the harmony of faith and reason, to just hint at possibilities when the set time shall have come for their union, and goes on to intermediate conquests in the West. At those conquests we glance in the latter part of this volume, and in Book Four of this series. What was done through Greek channels, and what claim was established by the faith

upon Hellenic thought, will appear in the Greek writings of this volume, and in Book Three.

The four Greek authors who characterized this period were Irenæus, Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. Let us see with what subjects they dealt. In the Antoninian age, which preceded this, there had appeared on the confines of Christianity, attracted by its high discourse of things unseen, but repelled by the humble spirit in which it propounded such divine truth, certain so-called Gnostics, who claimed an esoteric insight into things spiritual, and propounded elaborate systems purporting to explain the origin of evil and the connection of the infinite with the finite. These teachers used enough of the Christian nomenclature to suggest to the unwary that they were Christians, though they were utterly astray from the principles of the Gospels. As soon, therefore, as Justin and Athenagoras, and their compeers, have vindicated the right of Christianity to be, and the tone of apology in Christian letters grows less marked, there is call for a correction of these Gnostic errors. It is very evident, from the earnestness with which Irenæus writes, as well as from his express assertions, that such errors were proving influential and hurtful. For, though a Greek, he does not write from interest in abstract truth. He was a missionary among the heathen Gauls, mingling with them so much that he apologizes for his speech, and he seizes his pen with the practical aim and the holy zeal of an apostle. But, once he begins to write, he proves himself a thinker and a scholar. His "Five Books against Heresies" do not simply un-



mask the Gnostic pretenders. He refutes a counterfeit Christianity by presenting a true Christianity, and thereby leaves a record of the opinions and practices of the Catholic churches of his day which is now one of our most valuable memorials of the early faith. Hippolytus, also, a zealous preacher and an active worker for men in the busy port of Rome, where he met with wanderers from all nations, must have had a similar practical aim in composing his principal work, "The Refutation of all Heresies." When he writes, however, it is with a breadth of learning and an exhaustive survey of his subject which prove his desire that all the wealth of human knowledge should be pressed into the service of his religion.

But both these fathers hold somewhat exceptional positions. Remote from the philosophic schools of the East, plunged amid the busy cares of life, they must needs differ from the typical Greek writer like the next whom we note. He, Clement of Alexandria, offers an example of the purely philosophic conception of Christianity. His works were called forth by no heresies which he saw leading men astray; but, from the seclusion of the library and the lecture-room, he calmly discourses of Christian truth as Plato might have spoken in the Academy. If at times he warms to enthusiasm, if he even pens a hymn of praise to the divine "Instructor," it is because his theme for the moment compels his passion. If, however, we have to acknowledge in Clement an over-development of the Grecian at the expense of the diviner culture, the balance is restored in Origen, not by this father's

having less of the Hellenic fire, but by the complete possession of his grand mind by the spirit of his Galilean Master. A philosopher of the noblest type, he yet inherited the blood of martyrs, and, when not permitted in his youth to die for Christ, he lives, he thinks, he philosophizes for Christ as he might have done had he never lost sight of the axe that martyred his father, until, an old man, he actually gave his own life for his Lord. Clement had thought it necessary for a philosopher to "grow gray in the Scripture," but Origen deems the understanding of the Scripture the paramount aim of human thought. To the preparation of his learned edition of the Old Testament, "The Hexepla," he gave twenty-seven years of labor, making use of the rarest manuscripts, and employing a great number of scribes and copyists, by which means he erected a monument of erudition of which the profoundest modern scholarship might be proud. Besides, he covered almost the entire Scriptures with elaborate commentaries. Though replete with thought, the value of these expositions is greatly impaired by their extreme allegorical methods of interpretation. While, beyond question, the intellectual leader of his day, Origen nevertheless belonged to that allegorizing age introduced by Philo, and did not escape its trammels. But, if hampered by a false method in expounding the details of Scripture, when he breaks away from his bonds and talks to us of eternal truths, his form begins to loom until he appears the central figure of his age. We may take the measure of the man by the problems which he pondered. Not upon the issues of this little life of

threescore years and ten did he dwell, not upon the consummation of all things earthly even, but upon that final consummation when "God shall be all in all." Literally alone he was in his musings. Smaller men could not, less holy men dared not, follow him. To the noblest intellect of the Christian Church, with a spirit that looked upward to the very face of God in peace, such thoughts were only natural meditations. What if they found no comprehension and little appreciation in that age? We have seen that while Christianity only fairly touched the Greek intellect at this time, it yet, by that touch, was to suggest to a far-off age the possibilities of thought to minds imbued with God.

Such lofty thinking, however, did not take Origen away from his work upon the pressing questions of his age. In the earlier part of his career Gnostic speculations had not lost their hold upon men, and he did noble work in clearing away the mists from the minds of heretics, and revealing to them the true Light. A worthier adversary was the Neo-Platonism so nearly contemporary with himself, and which offered that to thinking men which required Christianity to be projected among them by master minds. We can best appreciate this work by noting briefly the points at issue in this contest. First, as to the relations of God to man, Christianity said, "A personal God, who thinks and loves, who may be approached and worshiped, is seeking after men, having for this purpose become incarnate and given the world thereby a pledge of redemption." Neo-Platonism said: "Men are seeking after God; haply some few may find him, but whether within them-

selves or without may not be affirmed." As to the divine goodness, Christianity said, "It is like human goodness, reaching out to all the world, irrespective of their degradation or their receptivity." Neo-Platonism said, "A different standard of morality obtains for human and divine natures, and, since the philosophic man is to become a god, virtue is to him not an end but only a means." About this godlikeness in men, Neo-Platonism said, "It is present in philosophers as a part of their natures." Christianity said, "It is present in *man*, but it is something from without, working upon him to lift him up." Once more Christianity said: "Lifted up by this divine influence, man will show certain new possessions—righteousness, love; in a word, likeness to a holy God." Neo-Platonism consented that he should show new possessions, but, having denied that virtue, such as any slave might exercise, was a worthy end for a philosopher, it was driven ultimately to claim for its leaders supernatural gifts, a claim which opened upon it the floodgates of magic and theurgy which ultimately destroyed the system.

In no way do we see Origen in his true proportions better than in his training of his scholars. Gregory Thaumaturgus tells us with what patient care he sifted his own and his brothers' characters, not only himself finding out their capacities and weaknesses, their faults and excellences, but luminously revealing all these to themselves. This he effected by conversations with them, directed always to the end of arriving at the absolute truth, and of eliciting from them utterances whose one aim should be, not to make a display, but to express exactly

what lay in the speaker's mind. Having thus shown them to themselves, and having given them a perfect vehicle of expression, he first led them to a study of external nature, basing their investigations upon the science of geometry, and proceeding thence upward, step by step, until they dealt with the grandest phenomena of the universe. Next in the course came moral science, which was treated not as a theory but as a life. "He stimulated us," says Gregory, "by the deeds he did more than by the doctrines he taught." So he led his pupils on to the appreciative study of philosophy, giving the words of the old thinkers a new and nobler meaning to their minds. In this study they were to embrace all systems, rejecting only the writings of atheists. To crown all, they were finally brought to the Holy Scriptures, the "Oracles of God," in interpreting which his pupils claimed for Origen a veritable divine gift. "Therefore to us," says Gregory, "there was no forbidden theme, nothing hidden or inaccessible. We had in our power to learn every kind of doctrine, barbarian and Greek, both spiritual and civil, both divine and human; and were permitted with all freedom to traverse and investigate the whole circle of knowledge, and to enjoy the sweets of intellect."

The influence of this great father extended to all parts of the church, excepting perhaps the Church of North Africa, and its power was everywhere beneficent. There was in it, however, a large personal element, as there must needs be in the power of a man who could meet opponents in public discussions and not simply silence them, but so convince them as to win from them expressions of gratitude

for showing them their error. At his death this personal element was of course lost, and the tide of the world and narrowing influences within the church were against the continued influence of his writings. For a few years some of his surviving contemporaries cherished his memory, and were broadened and sweetened thereby. A few, also, of the leaders of the following century—Basil, the two Gregories, and Chrysostom—perceived his greatness and would gladly have perpetuated his power, but the wish was vain. Latin Christianity must run its course, and Augustine must reign above a thousand years.

But the great can wait. Latinism, alike with Hellenism and Judaism, has now become an historic culture, and the work of the modern world to universalize these local products is well in hand. Christianity, confined for an age to a single field of conquest, is at last returning to her interrupted work. The Tyre which was passed by is yet to fall; but, once more unlike the conquest of Alexander, the Hellenic culture is not to be blotted out, but to be taken up by Christianity as an ally with herself in the redemption of the world. And, in this new and larger career, the Christian faith is often to point her adherents back over the ages to Alexandria and Cæsarea, and, while not disparaging the noble work of her faithful ones during the Latin age, to suggest the study of this man Origen. We shall not be bidden to follow him in his conclusions, but we shall be bidden to think with his spirit. This little book is sent forth in full faith that such bidding is to be heeded, and that no more truly did Origen subdue all Alexandrian wisdom to a child-



like faith, than the age before us is to witness a like subduing of the best and grandest that has ever been thought to the self-sacrificing love of Origen's Master. To aid but slightly in such a work were a noble compensation for any labor.

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## IRENÆUS.

"HITHERTO shalt thou come but no farther, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed," is the triumphant address of apologists to critics, whenever they approach Irenæus. For, however shifting and insubstantial the questioner may deem the earlier traces of our present conceptions of Christianity, in Irenæus he sees all that was misty and uncertain condensed and crystallized into the clear and positive teachings which now obtain. But if thus the *terminus ad quem* of historical criticism, Irenæus is the *terminus a quo* of theological controversies. For three centuries he has been, now the boasted champion, and now the friend who needed to be explained, of the two great camps of Christendom. It was by a cardinal's fortunate use of Irenæus's expression of unwillingness to meet heretics in public places that Francis I was kept from giving Melancthon a hearing in France, and so, perhaps, from committing France to the Reformation. It is over Irenæus that late numbers of English theological reviews are still debating.

This great father—of whom Eusebius says that in his writings he makes it clear that he stood in im-

mediate relations to the apostles—was, if not born, at least educated in Asia Minor, where he listened in boyhood to the instructions of Polycarp. The date of his birth may be fixed approximately at A. D. 130. Though called by some a Syrian, it is more plausibly conjectured that he was a Galatian by descent, and so peculiarly fitted for the mission to which his life was devoted. This life-work was to disseminate Christianity among the Gallic Celts of the Rhône and Saône Valleys, between whose language and that of the Asiatic Gauls there was a close resemblance. Following Pothinus, who is said by Gregory of Tours to have been sent out by Polycarp, Irenæus began his labors at the city of Lyons. About A. D. 177 he was sent to Rome as the bearer of a letter from the churches of Vienne and Lyons to Eleutherius. Very soon after this he succeeded Pothinus as Bishop of Lyons. He is thought to have died a martyr under Septimius Severus, A. D. 202.

While his chief strength was doubtless given to missionary work among the untutored Celts, Irenæus did not (as he modestly suggests) lose the powers of a finely cultured Greek. These he devoted to the preparation of a work, "Against Heresies," which has come down to us entire, most of the first book in the original Greek, the other four in a very literal Latin translation, nearly as old as the original. Gnosticism, the general name of the heretical opinions of the second century, may be defined as a Christological philosophy, whose chief problems were the origin of evil and the relationship of the infinite to the finite. It "made of religion a theory

for the understanding, and not a life for the soul." Though in its higher advocates approximating to Christian ideas as to outward morals, and though appreciative of spiritual distinctions, the Christian conception of redemption as a renewal of the world in righteousness was yet foreign to its thought. Setting no bounds to the questions which their reason was to solve, the Gnostics' beliefs assumed many and widely various forms. Their one great point of unity was their common doctrine as to divine emanations from a Supreme Æon. All, too, recognized to a certain extent the dualistic principle, since all agreed in assigning the origin of this lower world, which was produced by a plastic power and conditioned by matter, to a certain Demiurge, who was inferior to and contrasted with the Father of the higher world of emanations. Their chief point of difference, theoretically, was in the relative position given to this Demiurge. On the one hand, the Alexandrian Gnostics, recognizing the Platonic doctrine of the *ὑλη*, made their opposing principle only dead matter, to be controlled and utilized by the spiritual principle. On the other hand, the Syrian Gnostics, inclining to the Parsee dualism, made the opposing principle an aggressive power for evil. The former, in their doctrine of the Demiurge, followed closely the speculative Jews of Alexandria, many of whom, embracing Christianity, saw in the Creator of the Old Testament a representative of the Supreme God, appointed by him to administer an earthly dispensation, which was a veiled type of the divine. Christianity, the dispensation of the Christ of the Supreme, thus to their

minds immeasurably transcended Judaism, but no antagonism subsisted between them. In recognizing thus an historic preparation for Christianity, this school of thinkers did a true service to the philosophy of the faith. Without them the Church might have lacked its Clement of Alexandria and its Origen, and have found even greater difficulty than it experienced in winning the philosophic world. On the contrary, the more pronounced dualistic Gnostics, who were of Oriental origin, utterly opposed the Old Testament religion, as the work of a Demiurge hostile to God, and seeking to establish his own independence. For convenience of classification, we may say that the Gnostics of Jewish origin and sympathies were in every way, in morals as well as in theories, superior to those of Oriental tendencies. We must, however, make an important qualification of this statement in favor of Marcion and of Tatian, who, though strongly anti-Judaistic, yet seemed to labor after a pure and spiritual Christianity. The first man to incorporate a Christology with philosophy, and so, in a sense, the founder of Gnosticism, was considered to be Simon Magus, who, with Cerinthus, was contemporary with the apostles; but the full development of the system was only reached under Basilides and Valentinus. It is this developed scheme which Irenæus mainly opposes. In doing this he sets forth with considerable fullness the established faith of the Church, using for this purpose the same Scriptures which now exist, and with the same deference that is now accorded to them; and also gives much valuable information upon the ecclesiastical usages of his day.

The modern controversies over this book have concerned mainly the relations of Scripture and tradition, the idea of the Church, and the doctrine of the eucharist. What Irenæus's opinions were may be gathered from what we give of his writings.

The date of the work "Against Heresies" was A. D. 182-188. Subsequently, when Victor, Bishop of Rome, was resorting to harsh measures to compel the churches to a uniform observance of the paschal feast, Irenæus addressed to him a letter counseling moderation. The substance of this letter has been preserved by Eusebius and is given hereafter, together with a letter to Florinus, rescued by Eusebius from a lost work of Irenæus on the "Ogdoad." Besides these writings, we have numerous small fragments of our author—none, however, of very great importance. Certain so-called Pfaffian fragments, discovered during the last century, can not with certainty be assigned to Irenæus. The translations here given have been made mainly from the text of Harvey, but the notation followed is that of Stieren.

## WRITINGS OF IRENÆUS.

### FIVE BOOKS AGAINST HERESIES.

#### *Prayer of Irenæus.*

Wherefore I call upon thee, Lord God of Abraham, and God of Isaac, and God of Jacob and Israel, who art the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the God who through the abundance of thy mercy hast been well affected toward us, that we should know thee who hast made heaven and earth, who

dost govern all things, who art the only and the true God, above whom there is no other God; through our Lord Jesus Christ, grant also the governing power of the Holy Spirit; give to every reader of this book to know thee, that thou art God alone, to be confirmed in thee, and to avoid all heretical and godless and impious doctrine. (Bk. III, vi, 4.)

*Object of the Work.*

In the preface the author says: "I shall, then, to the best of my power, set forth clearly and concisely the opinions of those who are now teaching error. I speak particularly of the disciples of Ptolemæus, whose school is, so to speak, a flower culled from that of Valentinus. I shall also, according to my moderate ability, furnish the means for their overthrow, by showing that what they say is absurd, and inconsistent with the truth."

*Book One.—Doctrine of the Heretics.*

The heretics maintain that there is in the invisible and ineffable heights above a certain perfect, preëxistent Æon (Eternal). They call him First-Beginning, First-Father, and Profundity, but he is invisible and incomprehensible. Eternal and unbegotten, he remained throughout countless ages in silence and profound rest. With him was Thought, whom they also call Grace and Silence. This First-Father and Thought, by conjunction, produced Intelligence and Truth, constituting the first Tetrad. Intelligence was thus the beginning and fashioning of the entire Pleroma (Fullness). He sent forth Word and Life, who, in turn, produced Man and Church, forming the first Ogdoad. These Æons, seeking the glory of the Father, sent forth emanations by conjunction, Word and Life producing, besides Man and Church, ten other Æons, and Man

and Church producing twelve Æons.<sup>1</sup>\* Thus we have the thirty Æons of the system, described by the Gnostics as wrapped in silence, and known only to themselves (the teachers). This Pleroma is tripartite, being divided into an Ogdoad, a Decad, and a Duodecad. The thirty Æons are said to be indicated by the  $1 + 3 + 6 + 9 + 11 = 30$  hours of the parable of the laborers in the vineyard. The First-Father was known only by Intelligence, but the other Æons desired to see him, particularly Wisdom, the youngest of all, who so stretched herself forward that she was in danger of being absorbed into his essence. In the attempt she brought forth an amorphous substance, such as the female alone could produce, beholding which she experienced grief, fear, ignorance, and bewilderment, out of which, they declare, material substance had its beginning. Wisdom herself was only restored and kept in the Pleroma by Limit, whom the Father had produced without conjunction. Her desire, with its passion, was separated from her, and fenced off out of the circle. Intelligence, now, acting with the Father, gives origin to Christ and the Holy Spirit, for the purpose of strengthening the Pleroma. These take the place of the Father and Thought, in making up the thirty Æons, who are now all made coequal, and who contribute, each of his best, and produce Jesus, together with angels for his body-guard.

References are said to be found in Scripture to the Æons in the "for ever and ever," to the Duodecad in the twelve apostles, etc., etc. The Desire of Wisdom, which was called Achamoth, was at first formless, but was given form by Christ, who for this purpose extended himself beyond the boundary of the Pleroma, and afterward, returning, sent forth the Saviour with his angels.

\* The figures indicate passages quoted on pages 40, ff.

The passions of Achamoth gave origin to matter, her tears forming liquids, her smiles things lucent, and so on, all through the power of the Saviour. The latter, also, from the conversion of Achamoth, formed animal existences. For, at seeing him, Achamoth was strengthened and her passions were separated from her; after which, gazing with rapture upon the angels, she brought forth spiritual existences. Out of animal substances Achamoth formed the Demiurge or Creator of the world, in the image of Intelligence. This Creator, dwelling above the seven heavens, being incapable of recognizing spiritual essences, vainly imagined himself the only God, and that he made all things. The devil, a spirit of wickedness whose place is in this world, was formed by the Creator, and originated from griefs. Being a spirit, he apprehends things spiritual above him. The Creator also formed man, and breathed into him his animal nature. But into the Creator had been conveyed, secretly, by Achamoth, a certain spiritual element, so that, without himself knowing it, he gave something of a spiritual nature to man. All material existences are to perish. The animal and spiritual are united for discipline, the animal needing to be trained by the outward senses. To the latter the Saviour came, to effect its salvation. The spiritual is to be perfected by Gnosis. The heretics are these spiritual existences. To animal men faith and good works are necessary; the spiritual can not fail of salvation, for no kind of action is able to corrupt them. Thus it is, says our author, that the Gnostics become immoral.

Achamoth is to pass into the Pleroma, taking with her all the spiritual; she is to be the bride of the Saviour; they, brides of the angels. The Creator is to go into the place of Achamoth, and the world will be burned up. Material men will go to destruction; animal men, if they choose the



good, will go into the intermediate place; if they choose the bad, will also be destroyed; spiritual men, going into the Pleroma, leave their animal natures behind. Of animal souls, some are by nature good, some bad.

This system is supported by a fraudulent use of Scripture, which the author illustrates by joining together disconnected passages of Homer.<sup>2</sup> The consistent faith (creed)<sup>3</sup> of the Church, the same in Germany and Libya, in the East and in Gaul, is set forth in contrast with these heresies, which are ridiculed.<sup>4</sup> The author further sets forth the doctrines—the wrong ideas of redemption, the denial of baptism,<sup>5</sup> etc.—and the practices of Colorbasus, Marcus, Simon Magus, Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, the Ebionites, the Nicolaitanes, Cerdo, Marcion, the Barbeliotes, Ophites, Sethians, and Cainites.

*Book Two.—Refutation from Reason.*

It is a matter of necessity that God, the Pleroma, should contain all things and be contained by nothing. If there is anything beyond him, he is not the Pleroma of all, and does not contain all. Now, since there does exist something else outside the Pleroma, into which the straying power descended, it is necessary either that the Pleroma contain that which is beyond, or that the Pleroma and the beyond be separated by an infinite distance. But maintaining this, there will be a third kind of existence, which will bound and contain both the others, and will be greater than both. So they might go on *ad infinitum*, and their thought would never rest in one God.<sup>6</sup> The world was not formed by angels against the will of the Supreme, else he would have a superior; if it was by his will, he was really the Creator. If God contained all things, creation could not have been formed by another. They

must acknowledge a certain chaos below the spiritual Pleroma, in which to form the universe. Either the First-Father was ignorant as to what would happen in this, in which case he would not be prescient of all things, or he knew what would be made, and, having formed this ideally, he would be the Creator. The "vacuity" of the Gnostics is shown to be of like honor with the Father, and superior to the other *Æons*. Further, if there is nothing outside the Pleroma, the Father must have allowed a stain within himself. If within and without the Pleroma means simply being in a state of knowledge or ignorance, the Saviour and Christ must have become ignorant. The Creator could not have been ignorant of the Supreme, being his property and creature. Arguing that created things are not images of *Æons*, the author says that they should declare of what *Æon* eternal fire, prepared for the devil, is an image. Nor are things below shadows of things in the Pleroma. The ancients and the Church universal confess one God. He created all things out of nothing. The Triacontad is shown to have either fewer or more than thirty *Æons*. The production of Intelligence from Profundity and Thought is disproved; also the order of production of the *Æons*. The Gnostic teachings were derived from the Greeks, the names alone being changed.<sup>7</sup> Either the Creator formed of himself the images of things which he made, or the Pleroma was patterned after something anterior, and so on. Wisdom could not be in ignorance; her Desire could not exist apart from herself; and her striving after knowledge of God ought to have brought her to perfection, not disgrace. The opinions of the heretics as to their own origin, and as to the Demiurge, are shown to be absurd. It is a vain endeavor to attempt to prove the sufferings of the twelfth *Æon*. Other asserted types are disproved,

and Christ is asserted to have lived some fifty years.<sup>8</sup> It is absurd to seek God and divine truth through numbers and letters and syllables. The entire Scriptures can be clearly and unambiguously understood by all, and should not receive obscure interpretations. We should reserve something to submit to God, since perfect knowledge is not attainable in this life. The heretical views as to the destiny of the soul and body are refuted. The heretics, calling themselves spiritual and the Creator animal, are challenged to equal his works. After a recapitulation and an exposure of the works of the heretics in contrast with the miraculous works and the pure prayers of the Church,<sup>9</sup> the author disproves the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which he says was originated by Plato. That the souls of the dead continue and remember the things of this world is shown by the narrative of Dives and Lazarus. The continuance of life, however, is not from man's nature, but is the gift of God.<sup>10</sup>

*Book Three.—Refutation from Scriptures.*

The apostles, endowed with the gifts and power of the Spirit, preached one God alone, Maker of heaven and earth,<sup>11</sup> which truth the heretics do not follow, but which has been preserved by a succession of bishops in the churches.<sup>12</sup> Thus the Church is the only depository of apostolic doctrine.<sup>13</sup> The truth which it holds was taught, without accommodation to men's prejudices, by Christ and his apostles; also by the Holy Ghost, in the Old Testament Scriptures. Explanation of 2 Corinthians iv, 5, and Matthew vi, 24. The one God, whom the prophets proclaimed, is presented in the gospels by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, which gospels are four in number, neither more nor less.<sup>14</sup> The same truth which the churches teach was taught by the apostles and their disciples, notably by Peter, James, John,

Philip, Stephen, and Paul. That these men were not still under the bondage of Judaism is shown by reference to Stephen's address, and to the council at Jerusalem. Paul was not the only one knowing the truth (as Marcion says), and his authority was not, on the other hand, to be despised (as by the Ebionites).

Scriptural proofs are given that Jesus Christ was one being (not Jesus the Son of Man upon whom the Christ descended only temporarily), the only-begotten of the Father, who became incarnate when the fullness of time had come when the Son of God was to become the Son of Man. Further proofs of this are given; also proofs that Christ did not suffer simply in appearance. The Word actually became flesh. He was not a mere man, begotten by Joseph, but was "himself, in his own right, beyond all men who ever lived, God and Lord and King eternal," having "that preëminent birth which is from the Most High Father;" and, "since he had a generation as to his human nature from Mary, . . . was made the Son of Man."

A gracious purpose of God is to be seen in the fall of man, man being thereby taught his dependence upon God for salvation.<sup>16</sup> The prophecy of Isaiah vii, 14 is shown from the Septuagint version to be of a *virgin*. Christ was so born of a virgin, assuming actual flesh from her. Tatian is here opposed, and the argument is recapitulated. The heretics are said to be overthrown by their own arguments, while the teaching of the Church through the Spirit of God<sup>16</sup> is consistent.

*Book Four.—Further Argument from Scripture.*

We advance, now, to the words of the Lord, who taught us to confess no one as Father except the one God, which confession was made by David and Isaiah, whose words concerning himself Christ ac-

known.—Objections concerning the passing away of heaven and earth and the overthrow of Jerusalem are answered.—This one God has revealed himself in his Word. Matt. xi, 27 is expounded. "All saw the Father in the Son (the Word), for the Father is the invisible of the Son, but the Son the visible of the Father." Abraham knew God through the revelation of the Word, and he rejoiced in Christ's advent. It is in vain, therefore, for Marcion to exclude Abraham and his descendants from salvation; for Christ spoke of Abraham as in the kingdom of heaven.

Both covenants are from one author, the Old Testament foretelling of the Son of God, and the old prophets and righteous men desiring to see him. This truth is apparent from Christ's condemnation of tradition repugnant to the Mosaic law, and his confirmations of the precepts of the law.

God formed man of his munificence, and demanded obedience for man's own welfare. The natural law, embodied in the decalogue, was at the beginning implanted in men's hearts;<sup>17</sup> afterward it was necessary to curb the Jews with the Mosaic law. These legal observances did not confer righteousness and were abolished, but the decalogue remains ever in force.

The Levitical sacrifices were not made because God needed them; nor is the eucharistic sacrifice.<sup>18</sup> The earthly is figurative of the spiritual sacrifice; but things spiritual can not be typical of things beyond; nor is God but the type of a superior being.

Our faith was prefigured in Abraham; for Christ did not come for the men of one age, but for the righteous men of all time. The prophetic writings prepared the way of the apostles; hence the conversion of the Gentiles is more difficult than the conversion of the Jews. Abraham, however,

prefigured both covenants, as did also the labor of Tamar.

Christ is the treasure hid in Scripture, of which the presbyters in true succession<sup>19</sup> are the expositors. The sins of the ancients, to whom Christ descended beneath the earth to preach,<sup>20</sup> are recorded for our admonition. Christ's words of judgment.<sup>21</sup> We should not condemn actions of the ancients not condemned by Scripture, e. g., the incest of Lot, which was typical.

A presbyter, who was a disciple of the apostles, maintained that the two covenants were from one God. A spiritual man shall judge heretics, but shall not himself be judged, having a complete faith;<sup>22</sup> he will also, having true knowledge,<sup>23</sup> rightly interpret the prophets. That the latter were from Him who sent the Son is proved by various parables.

Men are free agents and not made by nature, some good, some bad.<sup>24</sup> They were not created perfect, for it was needful that his true nature should appear to man, and that he should be made in the image of God, after receiving the knowledge of good and evil. This is gained through endowment and experience, profiting by which men become perfect. Fit habitations are prepared for the obedient and the disobedient. The latter are children of the devil, but not by nature.

*Book Five.—Closing Argument from Scripture.*

We are so redeemed, through the Word, "that neither justice should be infringed upon, nor the ancient handiwork of God go to destruction." Christ did actually come in the flesh. The salvation of the flesh is argued from our redemption "by the blood" of Christ, and from the flesh receiving eternal life from the eucharist.<sup>25</sup> God's power to raise the flesh is shown. If this temporal life can

vivify the flesh, much more can the life eternal. The Scripture argument. The saved man is a complete man, and so consists of body, soul, and spirit<sup>26</sup> (1 Thess. v, 23). The "mortal bodies" of Rom. viii, 11 must refer to the flesh. Men do now receive a portion of God's Spirit, preparing them for incorruption. "Flesh and blood," i. e., mere flesh and blood, without the spirit, "can not inherit the kingdom of God." The breath of life animating the flesh is temporal, but the vivifying spirit is eternal. In the dead raised by Christ we have proof of the resurrection. If fleshly hearts are here partakers of the spirit (2 Cor. iii, 3), why not in the resurrection? Argument is here made for the resurrection of the flesh from Christ's becoming actual flesh; also from the prophecies.

The Lord has restored us to the friendship of the Creator, through incarnation as the Mediator, propitiating the Father for us, canceling our disobedience by his obedience.<sup>27</sup> God, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit,<sup>28</sup> being over all and the Creator of all, Christ "came unto his own." The disobedience of the virgin Eve was counterbalanced by the obedience of the Virgin Mary.—The heretics being later than the bishops, we should flee to the Church.—Christ, being born of a woman, recapitulated in himself the ancient enmity against the serpent, and so overcame him fairly.

The victory was gained in the forty days' temptation, thus redeeming man from captivity to Satan.<sup>29</sup> Christ's use of Scripture and Satan's falsehood are set forth. Man did die, as had been threatened, on the sixth day of creation, which was, perhaps, a thousand years.

The fraud, pride, and tyranny of Antichrist are shown, as set forth by Paul, Daniel, and John. In the judgment, Christ will separate between the believers and unbelievers, granting to the former com-

munion with God, which is life, inflicting upon the latter separation from God, which is death, and which was before chosen by themselves. The apostasy in the time of Antichrist, and the end of the world, as set forth in the Apocalypse, are here noted.<sup>80</sup> After Antichrist, the Lord will come in the clouds.

The dead are to remain in the intermediate place, whither Christ went for three days,<sup>81</sup> until the resurrection, when they shall receive their bodies in glory.\* Here in the earth, where they have served and suffered, the saints shall reign. The millenarian argument from Christ's words, and Papias' account of the millennium are given. The prophecies are not to be interpreted allegorically but literally.<sup>82</sup> The earth is not to be annihilated, but only the present fashion of it passes away. There will be gradations of rank in the heavenly kingdom, and suitable mansions for each. All things are at the last to be subdued unto the Father, "that God may be all in all."

#### EXTRACTS FROM BOOKS AGAINST HERESY.

1. "Each of these is masculino-feminine, thus: First of all the First-Father was united by conjunction with his Thought; then the Only-Begotten, that is Intelligence, with Truth; then Word with Life and Man with Church. These Æons, being sent forth for the glory of the Father, and desiring of their own accord to honor the Father, sent forth emissions by conjunction. Word and Life, besides Man and Church, sent forth ten other Æons whose names they say are these: The Deep and Mingling, the Undecaying and Union, the Self-Existent and

\* From this point many manuscripts are wanting, probably on account of the anti-millenarian views of copyists.



Pleasure, the Immovable and Blending, the Only-Begotten and Happiness. These are the ten Æons which they say were sent forth from Word and Life. Man himself, also, with Church, sent forth twelve Æons, to whom they assigned these names: Advocate and Faith, the Paternal and Hope, the Maternal and Love, the Eternal and Understanding, the Ecclesiastical and Bliss, the Wished-for and Wisdom." (I, i, 1, 2.)

2. "In this respect they do like those who propound such theories as occur to them, and then attempt to declaim them out of the poems of Homer, so that the ignorant suppose that Homer composed verses upon this newly declaimed hypothesis, and many are carried away with the feigned sequence of the verses to doubt whether Homer may not have composed them in this form. . . . Such is the passage in which, out of the Homeric verses, one writes as follows concerning Hercules, sent by Eurystheus to the dog in the infernal regions :

" 'So speaking, forth went from his house, with groans full deep.'—Od., 10, 76.

" 'The hero Hercules, practiced in mighty deeds.'—Od., 21, 26.

" 'Eurystheus, son of Sthenelus, from Perseus sprung.'—Il., 19, 123.

" 'From Erebus to bring the dog of Pluto feared.'—Il., 8, 368.

" 'He went like lion mountain-fed, on strength reliant.'—Od., 6, 130.

" 'The city tearing through ; while followed all his friends.'—Il., 24, 327.

" 'Both maids and youths and aged men who've much endured.'—Od., 11, 38.

" 'Bewailing him most sore, as going on to death.'—Il., 24, 328.

" 'But Mercury led him, and Minerva, piercing-eyed.'—Od., 11, 625.

" 'For of her brother's mind she knew, how worn with grief.'—Il., 2, 409." (I, ix, 4.)

3. "The Church, although scattered through the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, has received from the apostles and their disciples this faith: In one God the Father Almighty, who made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all things therein; and in one Christ Jesus the Son of God, who was made flesh for our salvation; and in the Holy Ghost, who through the prophets preached the dispensations and the advents, and the birth from a virgin, and the passion, and the resurrection from the dead, and the bodily assumption into heaven of the beloved Christ Jesus our Lord, and his appearing from heaven in the glory of the Father to gather all things together in one, and to raise up all flesh of all mankind, in order that to Christ Jesus our Lord and God and Saviour and King, according to the pleasure of the Father invisible, every knee should bow of things in heaven and things in earth and things under the earth, and every tongue should confess to him, and that he should execute righteous judgment upon all: that he may send the spirits of wickedness, and the angels who transgressed and became apostates, and the godless, and unrighteous and lawless and blasphemous among men, into eternal fire; but, conferring life, may bestow immortality upon the righteous and holy, and such as have kept his commandments, and have persevered in his love, some from the beginning, some from their repentance, and may surround them with eternal glory." (I, x, 1.)

4. "There is nothing, therefore, to prevent any one else from using such terms as these, in regard to this subject: There is a certain First Beginning, royal, before all inconceivable, a power before all irresistible, before all extended. But with this there is a power which I call *Gourd*, and with this *Gourd* is a power which I further call *Utter-Inanity*. This *Gourd* and *Utter-Inanity*, since they are

one, produced yet did not send forth a fruit everywhere visible, eatable, and delicious, which fruit-language names *Cucumber*. With this *Cucumber* there exists a power of the same nature, which I again call *Melon*. These powers, *Gourd*, and *Utter-Inanity*, and *Cucumber*, and *Melon*, produce the remaining multitude of *Valentine's delirious melons*." (I, xi, 4.)

5. "And that this class has been subjected by Satan to a denial of the baptism, which is regeneration unto God, and to a renunciation of the whole faith, we shall show in the proper place as we refute them." (I, xxi, 1.) (Compare with this the following:) "And again, giving to the disciples the power of regeneration unto God, he said to them, 'Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.'" (III, xvii, 1.)

6. "For since his invisible essence is powerful, it gives to all a profound mental intuition and perception of his most powerful, even all-powerful greatness. Wherefore, although 'no one knows the Father except the Son, nor the Son except the Father, and those to whom the Son will reveal him,' still all [beings] do know this very thing, since reason, implanted in their minds, moves them, and reveals to them that there is one God the Lord of all." (II, vi, 1.)

7. "Much more truly and agreeably has Antiphanes, one of the old comic poets, in his *Theogony*, spoken of the beginning of all things. For he speaks of *Chaos* as sprung from *Night* and *Silence*; then, as from *Chaos* and *Night*, of *Love*; and as from this of *Light*, and afterward, according to him, [came] the remaining first generation of the gods. After these, again, he introduces a second generation of gods, and the creation of the world; then he narrates the formation of mankind by the secondary

gods. . . . Again, appropriating their 'shade' and 'vacuity' from Democritus and Epicurus, they have adapted them for themselves. . . . And further, this dictum of theirs, that the Creator formed the world out of matter assumed to exist, Anaxagoras and Empedocles pronounced before them. . . . Moreover, in what they say of the Saviour being made by all the *Æons*, each depositing in him, so to speak, his own special flower, they set forth nothing new beyond the Pandora of Hesiod." (II, xiv, 1, 3, 4, 5.)

8. "Therefore, being a master, he also possessed the age of a master, not despising nor passing over what pertains to man, nor abrogating in himself his own law for the human race; but sanctifying every age by that similitude to it which was in himself. For he came to save all through himself—all, I say, who through him are born again unto God—infants and children, and boys, and young men, and old men. Therefore, he passed through every age, becoming an infant for infants, thus sanctifying infants; a child for children, sanctifying those of this age, at the same time being made an example to them of piety, and righteousness, and submission; a young man for young men, becoming an example to young men and sanctifying them for the Lord. So also he was an old man for old men, that he might be a perfect master unto all. . . . Now, that the period of thirty years is the first stage of young manhood, and that this extends to the fortieth year, all will admit; but from the fortieth and fiftieth year the man declines toward old age, arrived at which our Lord was [still] teaching, as the gospel and all the elders testify; those who in Asia gathered around John the disciple of the Lord, [affirming] that John had handed this down to them. And he remained with them to the times of Trajan. Moreover, some of them saw not only John, but

also other apostles, and heard these same things from them, and testify of a like report. . . . \* He did not fall much short of fifty years, and for this reason they said to him, 'Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?' " (II, xxii, 4, 5, 6.)

9. "Some have foreknowledge of things to come, and see visions, and speak prophetic words. Others by the laying on of hands heal the sick, and they are restored to health. Indeed, as I have said, even the dead have been raised up and remained with us many years. And what more? It is not possible to tell the number of the gifts which, throughout the whole world, the Church, receiving from God in the name of Jesus Christ who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, bestows every day for the welfare of the Gentiles, not deceiving any nor turning [their gifts] into money. For as she has received freely from God, she also ministers freely.

"Nor does she perform anything through the invocation of angels, nor by incantations, nor by any other wicked, curious act; but, directing her prayers in a pure, sincere, and straightforward spirit to the Lord who made all things, and invoking the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, she has been accustomed to work miracles for the advantage of men, and not to lead them astray." (II, xxxii, 4, 5.)

10. "And again he [the Spirit] speaks thus concerning man's salvation: 'He asked life of thee, and thou gavest him length of days for ever and ever'; as if the Father of all imparts continuance for ever and ever to those who are saved. For life does not arise from us, nor from our nature, but it is given according to the grace of God. And, therefore, he who shall preserve the gift of life, and shall give thanks to him who bestowed it, shall receive

\* Notice that this is not given as a universally received tradition.

also length of days for ever and ever. But he who shall cast it away, and shall prove ungrateful to his Maker for having been created, and shall not recognize him who bestows [the gift], deprives himself of continuance for ever and ever." (II, xxxiv, 3.)

II. "We have not learned the plan of our salvation from any others than those through whom the gospel has come to us; which they once publicly proclaimed, and afterward, by the will of God, transmitted to us in the Scriptures, to be the ground and pillar of our faith. For it is not right to say that they preached before they had perfect knowledge, as some venture to assert, boasting themselves to be amenders of the apostles. For, after that our Lord rose from the dead, and they were endowed with the power from on high of the Holy Ghost which came upon them, were filled from all [these gifts], and had perfect knowledge: they who, indeed, were all equally and individually possessed of the gospel of God, went forth to the ends of the earth, preaching the gospel of good things which have come to us from God, and announcing the peace of heaven to men. Matthew, then, published among the Hebrews a written gospel, in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching the gospel at Rome, and laying the foundations of the Church. After their departure, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, did himself transmit to us in writing what had been announced by Peter. Luke, also, the companion of Paul, recorded in a book the gospel which was preached by him. Afterward, John, the disciple of the Lord, who also reclined upon his breast, himself published a gospel while dwelling at Ephesus in Asia. All these have handed down to us that there is one God, Maker of heaven and earth, announced by the law and the prophets, and one Christ, the Son of God. To which things, if any one does not assent, he de-

spises the companions of the Lord; nay, he also despises Christ, himself the Lord; he even despises the Father, and stands self-condemned, resisting and opposing his own salvation, as do all heretics." (III, i, 1, 2.)

12. "But since it would be very tedious in such a volume as this to enumerate the successions of all the churches, by pointing out that tradition derived from the apostles of the very great and very ancient and universally known church established and organized at Rome by the two most glorious apostles Peter and Paul, as well as the faith announced to mankind which comes down even to us through the succession of the bishops, we shall confound all those who, in whatsoever manner, whether from self-complacency or from vainglory or from blindness and perverse opinions, assemble beyond where it is fitting. With this church, on account of its more distinguished precedence, it is unavoidable that there should be an agreement on the part of all the churches—that is, of believers everywhere, wherein the tradition emanating from the apostles has been preserved by believers everywhere. The blessed apostles, then, upon founding and erecting the church, committed the office of administering the church to Linus. Of this Linus, Paul speaks in the Epistle to Timothy. To him succeeded Anacletus; and after him, in the third place from the apostles, Clement received the bishopric, who also, having seen the blessed apostles, and having been conversant with them, still had their preaching ringing in his ears and their tradition before his eyes. . . . To this Clement succeeded Evaristus; and to Evaristus Alexander; then, the sixth from the apostles, Sixtus was appointed; and after him Telesphorus, who also suffered martyrdom gloriously; next Hyginus; then Pius; after whom was Anicetus. Soter having succeeded Anicetus,

Eleutherius now occupies the inheritance of the bishopric, in the twelfth place from the apostles." (III, iii, 2, 3.)

13. "Since, therefore, there is so much proof, it is not necessary to seek among others the truth which it is easy to obtain from the church, since the apostles, as a rich man [deposits money] in a bank, have contributed to her most plentifully all things which pertain to the truth; so that every man, whosoever will, may draw from her the water of life. For she is the entrance to life; all others are thieves and robbers." (III, iv, 1.)

14. "Such, indeed, is the strength [of position] in respect to the gospels, that the very heretics bear testimony to them, and each one drawing from them seeks to confirm his own doctrine. . . . Neither is it fitting that the gospels be more in number than they are, nor yet fewer. For since there are four zones of the world in which we dwell, and four universal winds; and the church is scattered throughout the world, and the pillar and ground of the church is the gospel and the spirit of life; it is fitting that she should have four pillars, everywhere breathing out immortality and giving to men fresh life. From which it is manifest that the Word, the Maker of all, who sitteth upon the cherubim, and contains all things, being revealed to men, has given to us the gospel fourfold, yet bound together by one spirit." (III, xi, 7, 8.)

15. "God was therefore magnanimous to fallen man, foreseeing the victory which should be rendered to him through the Word. . . . The magnanimity of God, therefore, was for this: that man, passing through all things and obtaining the knowledge of moral discipline, then coming to the resurrection of the dead and learning by experience the source of his deliverance, may ever remain grateful to the Lord, having received from him the gift of



incorruptibility, that he might love him the more—for he to whom more is forgiven loves the more—that he may know himself, that he is mortal and infirm; that he may, on the other hand, know God, that he is immortal and powerful to such degree that he may confer immortality upon what is mortal, and eternity upon what is temporal; that he may know, too, all the other attributes of God, displayed toward himself, instructed by which he may think respecting God, how great is God!" (III, xx, 2.)

16. "... that well-grounded system which tends to man's salvation, namely, our faith, which, received from the church, we hold, and which always, through the Spirit of God, renews its youth, like some extraordinary deposit in an excellent vessel, and causes the very vessel in which it is to renew its youth. For this gift of God has been intrusted to the church to the end that all the members sharing in it should be vivified; and in it rests the power of communion with Christ—that is, the Holy Spirit, the earnest of incorruption, and the means of confirming our faith, and the ladder of ascent unto God. 'For, in the church,' it is said, 'God hath set apostles, prophets, teachers, and every other [means of] working of the Spirit, of which all those are not partakers who do not gather to the church, but defraud themselves of life through their evil opinions and infamous conduct. For where the church is, there is the Spirit of God, and where the Spirit of God is, there is the church, and every kind of grace; but the Spirit is truth.'" (III, xxiv, 1.)

17. "For God, at first indeed admonishing them through natural precepts, which from the beginning he had implanted in men, that is, through the decalogue (which if any one obey not he shall not have salvation), required of them nothing more." (IV, xv, 1)

18. "But again, instructing his disciples to offer to God the first-fruits of his creatures, not as to one in need, but that they themselves might be neither unfruitful nor ungrateful, he took bread, which is a thing created, and gave thanks, saying, 'This is my body.' In a like manner, the cup, which is a part of that creation to which we belong, he confessed to be his blood, and he taught the new oblation of the new covenant." (IV, xvii, 5.) "For it is fitting to make an oblation unto God, and in all things to be found grateful to God, our Maker, offering the first-fruits of those creatures which are his, in a pure mind, and in faith without hypocrisy, in steadfast hope, in fervent love. And this pure oblation the church alone renders to the Creator, offering to him of his own creatures, with giving of thanks. . . . How, again, do they say that the flesh which is nourished by the body of the Lord, and by his blood, goes to corruption, and does not obtain life? Therefore, either let them change their opinion, or abstain from offering the things which have been mentioned. Our opinion, however, is in harmony with the eucharist, and the eucharist again confirms our opinion. For we offer to him his own, affirming consistently the fellowship and concord of the flesh and the Spirit. For as the bread, which is from the earth, receiving the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the eucharist, consisting of two realities, earthly and heavenly; so, also, our bodies, receiving the eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of the resurrection to eternity." (IV, xviii, 4, 5.)

19. "Wherefore it is fitting to obey the presbyters who are in the church, those who have the succession from the apostles, as we have shown; who, with the succession of the episcopate, have received the certain gift of the truth, according to the pleasure of the Father; but to hold in suspicion the rest

who depart from the primitive succession, and assemble in any place whatsoever, either as heretics and of a perverse opinion, or as schismatics, puffed up and self-pleasing, or again as hypocrites, doing this for the sake of advantage and of vainglory. For all these have fallen away from the truth." (IV, xxvi, 2.)

20. "And on this account the Lord descended into the regions beneath the earth, preaching his advent to them also, the remission of sins accruing to those who believe in him. For all believed in him who had hope in him—that is, who proclaimed his advent, and submitted to his dispensations—the righteous men and prophets and patriarchs, to whom, the same as to us, he remitted sins, which we ought not to impute to them, lest we despise the grace of God." (IV, xxvii, 2.)

21. "So also the punishment of those who do not believe in the Word of God, and despise his advent and are turned away backward, is increased; it is made not merely temporal but eternal. For to whomsoever the Lord shall say, 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire,' they shall be damned for ever; and to whomsoever he shall say, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from eternity,' these receive the kingdom for ever, and make advance in it." (IV, xxviii, 2.)

22. "For to him all things are consistent: he has a full faith in one God Almighty from whom are all things; and in one Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom are all things, and in the dispensation concerning him by which the Son of God became man; and an abiding trust in the Spirit of God, who furnishes the knowledge of the truth, who has set forth the dispensations of the Father and the Son, in virtue of which he dwells with every generation of men, according to the will of the Father." (IV, xxxiii, 7.)

23. "True knowledge is the doctrine of the apostles, and the ancient constitution of the church throughout all the world; and the true impress of the body of Christ, according to the successions of the bishops, by which they have handed down that church which is in every place; which [knowledge] has come to us, preserved without any forging of writings, as a most complete system, neither receiving addition nor abatement; and [it consists in] reading without falsification, and a lawful and diligent exposition in harmony with the Scriptures, without peril and without blasphemy; and [it consists in] the extraordinary gift of love, which is more precious than knowledge, more glorious even than prophecy, being indeed preëminent above all other gifts." (IV, xxxiii, 8.)

24. "That expression, 'How often would I have gathered thy children together and thou wouldest not!' set forth the ancient law of man's liberty, since God made him free from the beginning. . . . But if some had been made by nature bad and some good, the latter, being good, would not be praiseworthy, for so they were created; nor would the former be blameworthy, having been made thus. But since all are of the same nature, able both to hold fast and to practice the good, able again to cast it away and not to do it; some are justly praised by men who are subject to good laws—much more by God—and receive worthy testimony of their choice of good in general and of their perseverance; while some are accused, and receive worthy condemnation for their rejection of what is fair and good." (IV, xxxvii, 1, 2.)

25. "Since, then, the mingled cup and the manufactured bread receive the Word of God, and the eucharist becomes the body of Christ, from which the substance of our flesh increases and is sustained, how do they say that the flesh is not ca-

pable of receiving the gift of God which is eternal life, which [flesh] is nourished from the body and blood of the Lord, and is a member of him?" (V, ii, 3.)

26. "... Not considering that there are three things of which, as we have shown, the perfect man consists—flesh, soul, and spirit; one which preserves and fashions [the man], which is the spirit; another which is united and formed, that is the flesh; but [as to] that which is between these two, that is the soul, which sometimes, indeed, following the spirit, is raised by it, but sometimes, yielding to the flesh, it falls into carnal lusts." (V, ix, 1.)

27. "And on this account the Lord restored us to friendship, through his own incarnation, being made a Mediator between man and God; propitiating for us, indeed, the Father, against whom we had sinned, and canceling our disobedience by his obedience; granting to us also fellowship with, and subjection to, our Maker." (V, xvii, 1.)

28. "The Father, indeed, is over all, and he is the head of Christ; and the Word is through all, and he is the head of the church; while in us all is the Spirit, and he is the living water, which the Lord grants to those who rightly believe in him, and love him, and know that there is one God who is over all and through all and in us all." (V, xviii, 2.)

29. "For since in the beginning he [Satan] persuaded man to transgress the command of God, he, therefore, had him in his own power; but his power consists in transgression and apostasy, and with these he bound man: again it was necessary, on the other hand, that he, being conquered, should be bound by man himself, with the same chains with which he had bound man. . . . The Lord, therefore, exposing him as contrary in speech to that God who made all things, and subjecting him by

the commandment—the commandment is the law of God—the man also showing him to be a fugitive, and a transgressor of the law, and an apostate from God; then, afterward, the Word bound him securely, as his own fugitive, and stripped him of his goods, that is, of those men who were held captive by him, of whom he was making use unjustly. And justly, indeed, is he led captive who had led men captive unjustly; while man, who had before been led captive, is rescued from the power of his possessor, according to the tender mercy of God the Father.” (V, xxi, 3.)

30. “In as many days as the world was made, in so many thousand years will it come to an end. And for this reason the Scripture says: [quoting Gen. ii, 1, 2.] This is an account of the things formerly created, and a prophecy of what is to come. For the day of the Lord is as a thousand years; and in six days created things were finished: it is evident, therefore, that they will come to an end at the six thousandth year.” (V, xxviii, 3.)

31. “But now he [the Lord] dwelt for three days where the dead were, as the prophet says of him: ‘And the Lord remembered his dead saints who slept formerly in the land of sepulture; and he descended to them to rescue and save them.’” (V, xxxi, 1.)

32. “If, however, any shall attempt to allegorize [prophecies] of this kind, they can not be found consistent with themselves in all things, and will be confuted by the very expressions. [Citations from Isaiah, Baruch, Revelation, etc.] . . . But in a like manner the Lord says, ‘Earth and heaven shall pass away.’ When, therefore, these things pass away above the earth, John, the disciple of the Lord, says that the new Jerusalem above shall descend as a bride adorned for her husband; and this is the tabernacle of God, in which God shall

dwell with men. . . . And Moses received the patterns of this tabernacle in the mount; and nothing is able to be allegorized, but all things are firm and true and substantial, being made by God for the enjoyment of righteous men." (V, xxxv, 1, 2.)

## LETTER TO FLORINUS.

"These doctrines, Florinus, that I may speak very mildly, are not of sound understanding; these doctrines are not consistent with the church, and involve those who follow them in the greatest impiety; these doctrines not even the heretics out of the church ever ventured to assert; these doctrines those presbyters who were before us, and who were conversant with the apostles, did not hand down to thee. For when I was yet a boy I saw thee in Lower Asia with Polycarp, distinguishing thyself at court and endeavoring to gain his esteem. For I remember the events of those times better than those occurring lately (since the studies of our youth growing with our mind become incorporated with it); so that I am able to tell even the place in which the blessed Polycarp was accustomed to sit and discourse—also his going out and his coming in—and the complexion of his life, and the form of his body, together with the conversations which he held with the people; also how he would speak of his familiar intercourse with John, and with the rest of those who had seen the Lord; how also he used to recount their words. Whatsoever things he had heard from them concerning the Lord, also concerning his miracles and his teaching, Polycarp, as receiving them from the eye-witnesses of the Word of life, related all in harmony with the Scriptures. These things, through the mercy of God vouchsafed to me, I then heard, noting them down,

not upon paper but in my heart; and continually by the grace of God I recall these things accurately to my mind. And I am able to bear witness in the sight of God that if that blessed and apostolic presbyter had heard such a thing, he would have cried out and stopped his ears, exclaiming according to his custom, 'O good God, unto what times hast thou reserved me, that I should endure these things!' He would have fled from the place in which, sitting or standing, he had heard such words. From his epistles, too, which he wrote to the neighboring churches to confirm them, or to some of the brethren, to admonish or to exhort them, the same thing may be clearly shown."

#### SYNODICAL LETTER TO VICTOR OF ROME.

[Written by Irenæus, says Eusebius, "in the name of those brethren in Gaul over whom he presided."]

For not only is the controversy respecting the day, but also respecting the manner of fasting itself. For some think it necessary for them to fast one day, others two, others more, and still others forty. The diurnal and the nocturnal hours they compute alike as their day. And this diversity among observers has not sprung up just now in our times, but long ago, among those before us, who, ruling perhaps without strictness, established the custom for subsequent times according to their simplicity and private usage. None the less, however, did all these maintain peace, and we have peace with one another; and the very difference in our fasting establishes the oneness of our faith. . . . And those presbyters who governed the church before Soter, and over which you now preside—I mean Anicetus and Pius, Hyginus, with Telesphorus and Xystus—did not



themselves observe it, nor did they permit those with them to do so. And yet, though they themselves did not keep it, they were not the less in peace with those from dioceses where it was kept, whenever they came to them; although to keep it then was all the more in contrast with those who did not keep it. Neither did they cast off any at any time on account of the form. But those very presbyters before thee, who did not observe it, sent the eucharist to those of other dioceses who did. And when the blessed Polycarp was sojourning in Rome, in the time of Anicetus, and they had a little difference among themselves upon certain other matters, they immediately were reconciled, not wishing to contend with one another on this head. For neither could Anicetus persuade Polycarp not to observe that which he had always observed with John the disciple of our Lord, and the rest of the apostles, with whom he had associated; nor did Polycarp persuade Anicetus to observe it, who said that he was bound to maintain the practice of the presbyters before him. And these things being so, they communed with one another; and in the church Anicetus, no doubt out of respect, yielded to Polycarp the office of consecrating; and they separated from one another in peace; all the church being at peace, both those who observed and those who did not.

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## HIPPOLYTUS.

A MIGHT, a myth, and again mighty, as an element in Roman ecclesiastical history. So we may characterize Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, at the mouth of the Tiber. For, a Christian man of great

energy, of broad culture, of scriptural faith, of strict ideas as to doctrine and discipline, he lived at a critical period in the history of the Roman Church: at a time, namely, when the practical and traditional faith of the Romans was compelled by heretical teachers to formulate itself more scientifically, by an express enunciation of the doctrine of the Logos, which, though previously accepted, was until then left for consideration to the more speculative Greeks. As bishop of the neighboring church of Portus, Hippolytus was a member of the Roman presbytery; and he was conversant, not only with the numerous heresies that had prevailed and were then prevailing in the metropolis, but also with the interior life of the Roman Church itself. Hence the importance of his works, now that they are restored to us and to him. To *himself*, we say, for the reason that the name of Hippolytus had been so obscured for centuries that it was uncertain who he was or where he lived. Indeed, several Hippolytuses, none of them having the least claim to our attention, had been confounded with the historic "Bishop of the nations," who ministered at the port of Rome, where representatives of all the nations of the earth congregated. When, therefore, the great work, "The Refutation of all Heresies," discovered at Mount Athos in the year 1842, was published, it was ascribed to Origen and others; and only after prolonged and serious discussions was the true author called forth from obscurity to receive his rights. As soon as he was recognized as the writer of so valuable an addition to the patristic literature, the other works of Hippolytus became

more important ; and his name is now, perhaps, the most prominent of all connected with the Roman Church of the third century. For the recovery of this conspicuous personage, English readers are largely indebted to Baron Bunsen, who, however, as to his main conclusions, was in accord with such eminent authorities as Döllinger, Jacobi, Gieseler, etc. This long eclipse seems the more remarkable when we recall that in 1551 a very ancient (perhaps contemporary) statue of St. Hippolytus was found at Rome, inscribed with the name of his see, "Portuensis," and with the titles of various works of which he was known to be the author. The only reason to be assigned is the fact that Hippolytus ("Against Heresies," book ix) used language with respect to Callistus, Bishop of Rome, which, in the later years of the Roman Church, could not be tolerated in a bishop toward a pope.

The most active period of Hippolytus's life was during the bishoprics of Zephyrinus and Callistus (A. D. 197-222). Whether or not he was a Roman by birth, we do not know. He was a pupil of Irenæus—of whose book against heresies he makes large use in his own work—and became conversant with every department of Greek learning. He doubtless met and conversed with Origen, when the latter visited Rome in 211; Jerome says that he preached before him. But, while a Greek in erudition, he was a Roman in the practical use which he made of his learning. Bunsen happily suggests that he bears the same relation to Origen that Cicero bears to Plato. He was an exceptional Roman in having prepared and preached learned

homilies or sermons, which was not the custom at Rome prior to the time of Leo. His death, as a martyr, occurred about the year 238, he having previously been transported to Sardinia.

The extant writings of Hippolytus may be grouped as follows: 1. *Exegetical*.—Of this class we have fragments of considerable extent from commentaries upon Genesis, Numbers, Kings, the Psalms, Proverbs, the Song of Songs, the four major prophets, Matthew, and Luke. 2. *Historical*.—The one important historical work is the “Chronicle,” a book on chronology, preserved in a Latin translation dating from the time of Charlemagne. There is also found inscribed on the chair of Hippolytus’s statue a Paschal cycle computed by him. 3. *Controversial and Doctrinal*.—The great work of Hippolytus is “The Refutation of all Heresies,” already referred to. From quotations made therein from Basilides, we learn that that writer used the Gospel of John. We thus trace the fourth gospel back to the times of Trajan. Besides this work entire, we have a work “On Antichrist,” a “Homily against the Noëtian Heresy,” fragments of a treatise “Against Beron and Helix,” a “Discourse on the Holy Theophany” (probably), fragments of “The Little Labyrinth,” and a work “On Gifts,” all of which are referred to hereafter. In addition, there is a fragment “On the Substance of the Universe,” part of a “Demonstrative Address to the Jews,” and some other unimportant fragments.

The extracts have been corrected by, or translated from, the texts of Lagarde and of Bunsen.

## PRINCIPAL WORKS OF HIPPOLYTUS.

## THE REFUTATION OF ALL HERESIES.

*Book I.*—Declaring it to be the duty of the successors of the apostles to expose the shameful mysteries of the heretics and to set forth the correct doctrine, the author indicates the need of the Holy Spirit to aid him in this work. He purposes to show that the heretics have derived their doctrines, not from Holy Scripture, but from the wisdom of the Greeks. In order to do this, he will undertake the laborious task of examining the systems of the philosophers. He then sets forth the doctrine of Thales, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Heraclitus, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Archelaus, Parmenides, Leucippus, Democritus, Xenophanes, Ecphantus, and Hippo, whom he denominates physical speculators; of Socrates and Plato, who are called moral philosophers; and of Aristotle, the Stoics—Chrysippus and Zeno—Epicurus, the Academics, the Brahmans, the Druids, and Hesiod, the first two being classed as logicians.

*Books II and III.*—Both are lost, but are supposed to have treated of the doctrines and mysteries of the Egyptians, and of Chaldean science and astrology.

*Book IV.*—The Chaldean horoscope, also magical rites and incantations, are handled.

*Books V to IX.*—The doctrines and practices of the following thirty-two heretical sects are described: The *Naaseni*, who celebrated a serpent, and who ascribed their system to James, the Lord's

brother, through Mariamne, but really derived it from the Gentile mysteries. They propounded doctrines originated by Heraclitus, but set forth in a "gospel" ascribed to Thomas. The *Peratæ*, whose tritheistic system came from the Chaldean astrologers. The *Sethians*, the origin of whose insane dreamings is ascribed to the natural philosophers. *Justinus*, who was opposed to Scripture, and really pagan, and whose book, inscribed "Baruch," drew from the marvels of Herodotus. *Simon Magus*, whose system of a threefold emanation by pairs was expounded in his work, the "Great Announcement," and which derived its force through magicians and poets. *Valentinus*, who drew from Plato and Pythagoras, in constructing his system of emanations. *Secundus*, *Epiphanes*, and *Ptolemæus*, who propounded æonic systems. *Marcus*, an adept in sorcery, whose system of letters is traced to Pythagoras. *Colorbasus* is associated with Marcus as drawing from Pythagoras, but his doctrines are not set forth. *Basilides*, who, with his son Isidorus, claimed to derive truth from Matthias, but really drew from Aristotle; his doctrine of the Great Archon and of the Sonship; his testimony to John's Gospel.<sup>1</sup> *Saturnilus*, whose opinions were akin to Menander's. *Marcion*, whose dualistic ideas were suggested by Empedocles. *Prepon*, a Marcionite. *Carpocrates*, who asserted that souls must pass from body to body until they have committed all sins. *Cerinthus*, who taught that only Jesus, not the Christ, suffered. The *Ebionites*, who observed Jewish customs, and asserted that our Lord was only a man. *Theodotus* of Byzantium, who taught that the Christ came to Jesus at

his baptism. *Theodotus*, a banker, who held that a certain Melchisedec was greater than Christ. The *Nicolaitans*, reproved in the Apocalypse, and who inculcated indifference as to food and life. *Cerdo*, who denied that the God of Moses was the Father of Christ. *Apelles*, who received as prophetic revelations the sayings of one Philumene, and maintained that Christ was not born of a virgin, but formed from the substance of the universe. The *Docetæ*, who, drawing from the Greek sophists, taught the unreality of the body of Jesus nailed to the cross. *Monoïmus*, who drew from Pythagoras. *Tatian*, whose doctrine of æons resembled that of Valentinus, and who opposed marriage. *Hermogenes*, who followed Socrates, and held that God created out of previously existing matter. The *Quartodecimans*, who celebrate Easter on the fourteenth day of the first month. The *Phrygians*, who held Montanus to be a prophet, and Priscilla and Maximilla prophetesses, into whom had come the Paraclete. The *Encratites*, who, as ascetics, might rather be called cynics than Christians. The *Noëtians*, whose doctrines are of Heraclitic origin, and teach that the Father became the Son by submitting to generation. Callistus and Zephyrinus uphold these doctrines, whom, therefore, the author never ceased to oppose. The scandalous career of Callistus until he succeeded Zephyrinus in the bishopric of Rome, and his great laxity of discipline, are set forth. The *Elchesaites*, who, borrowing from Pythagoras, say that Christ has been frequently born before and since his advent; who also practiced incantations, and a second baptism for the remission

of all manner of iniquity. The tenets of the Jewish sects of Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes are also set forth.

*Book X.*—After a recapitulation of the doctrines of the philosophers and the heretics, the author gives the doctrine of the truth.<sup>2</sup>

*Extracts from the Refutation.*—

1. “And this, he (Basilides) says, is that which has been stated in the gospels: ‘He was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.’” (Book VII, chap. x.)

2. *Hippolytus’s Doctrine of the Truth.*—“The one God, the first and only, both Maker and Lord of all, had nothing coeval [with himself]—not infinite chaos, nor measureless water or solid earth; not thick air, or hot fire, or refined spirit; not the azure ceiling of the great heaven. But he was one alone by himself, who, willing it, called into being what had no being before, except when he willed to call it into being, having full knowledge of what was to be; for he has foreknowledge also. And he created first different elements of the things which were to be, fire and air, water and earth; out of which different elements he made his own creation, some being of one substance, while some he compounded of two, some of three, and some of four. And those which were of one are immortal; for they do not admit of dissolution. For what is simply one can not be dissolved; but that which consists of two or three or four elements is dissoluble, and therefore is also called mortal. For this has been termed death, namely, the dissolution of things compounded. . . .

“Now this sole and supreme God first by reflection begets the Word—not the word in the sense of speech, but as the indwelling reason of the uni-



verse. Him alone he begat out of things existing; for that which was, was the Father himself, the being born of whom was the cause of all things produced. The Word was in him, bearing the will of him who had begotten him, being not unacquainted with the thoughts of the Father. For when he came forth from him who begat him, being his first-begotten speech, he had in himself the ideas conceived by the Father. When, therefore, the Father commanded that the world should be, the Word accomplished it in detail, pleasing God. Now, what was to multiply by generation, he made male and female; but that which was to serve and minister [he made] either male, not wanting the female, or neither male nor female. For the first elements of these, which sprang from that which was not, fire and spirit, water and earth, are neither male nor female; nor could male and female come out of any of them, except as far as the commanding God willed that the Word should accomplish it. I confess that the angels are of fire; and they, I say, have no females. In like manner the sun and moon and stars, I conceive, are of fire and spirit, and are neither male nor female; but from water have come, the Creator willing, swimming and flying animals, male and female, for so God ordered it, willing that the moist element should be generative. In like manner, out of the earth came creeping things and beasts, and males and females of all sorts of animals; for this the nature of created things admitted of. For whatever he willed, God made. These things he made by the Word, nor could they be otherwise than as they were made. But when he had made them as he willed, calling them by names, he set [them] forth. After these he formed the ruler of all, whom he fashioned out of all composite substances. He did not intend to make him a god, and fail to do so, or an angel (be not misled), but a man. If he had

willed to make thee a god, he could have done so. Thou hast the example of the Word. Willing, however, to make thee a man, a man he made thee. But if thou wouldst become a god, be obedient to him who made thee, and transgress not now, in order that, having been found faithful in small things, thou mayst be trusted with great things.

“The Word of him is alone of him; wherefore he is God, being the substance of God. But the world is of nothing; therefore not God. It is also subject to dissolution, when he willeth who created it. But God the Creator did not make and does not make evil. He makes what is beautiful and good, for the Maker is good. But the man who was made was a free-willed creature, not having a dominant understanding, not governing all things by thought and authority and power, but a slave, and having all sorts of contraries in him. He, from being free-willed, generates evil, which becomes such by accident, being nothing if thou dost it not; for it is called evil from being willed and thought to be so, not being such from the beginning, but an after-birth. Man being thus free-willed, a law was laid down by God, not without need. For if man had not the power to will and not to will, why should a law have been established? For a law will not be laid down for an irrational being, but a bridle and a whip; but for man a command and penalty for the doing and not doing what is ordered. For him law was established by just men of olden time. In times nearer to us, a law was laid down, full of gravity and justice, by the forementioned Moses, a devout and God-loving man. But all these things are overruled by the Word of God, the only-begotten child of the Father, the light-bringing voice anterior to the morning star. Afterward there were just men, friends of God; these were called prophets, because they foretold the future. And the word [of prophecy] was

committed unto them not for one age [only]; but also the utterances of events predicted through all ages were vouchsafed in perfect clearness. They foretold the future, not then alone when they gave answer to those who were present, but through all ages, because, in speaking of things past, they reminded humanity of them; in explaining the present, they persuaded men not to be careless; by foretelling the future, they rendered every one alarmed, seeing things predicted long beforehand, and looking forward to the future.

“Such is our faith, O all ye men, (of men) who are not persuaded by vain sayings, who are not carried away by the impulses of our own hearts, nor seduced by the persuasiveness of eloquent speeches, but who are not disobedient to words spoken by divine power.

“These things God gave in charge to the Word. And the Word spake and uttered them, bringing man back by these very works from disobedience, not enslaving him through the force of necessity, but calling him to liberty of his own free accord. This Word the Father sent in after-times, no longer to speak through a prophet, not wishing that he should be guessed at from obscure announcements, but should be manifest to sight. Him, I say [he sent], that the world, seeing him, might revere him, not commanding them in the person of prophets, nor frightening the soul by an angel, but himself present and speaking to them. Him we have known to have taken his body from a virgin, and to have put on an old man through a new formation, having passed in his life through every age, that he might become a law for every age, and might by his presence exhibit his own humanity as an aim for all men; and might prove by the same that God has made nothing evil, and that man is free-willed, having the power both of willing and

not willing, being able to do either. Him we know to have been a man of our own composition. For, if he had not been of the same nature, in vain would he ordain that we are to imitate our Master. For, if that man were of a different substance, how can he bid me, born in weakness, to do like things? And how is he good and righteous? But that he might not be deemed other than we, he bore toil, and vouchsafed to hunger, and did not refuse to thirst, and rested in sleep, and did not resist suffering, and became obedient to death, and manifested his resurrection; offering up his humanity in all this, as the first fruits, that thou, when thou art suffering, mayst not despair, but, acknowledging thyself a man, mayst thyself expect what the Father granted to him.

“Such is the true doctrine about the Deity, O ye men, Greeks and barbarians, Chaldæans and Assyrians, Egyptians and Libyans, Indians and Ethiopians, Celts, and ye captains the Latins, and all ye who dwell in Europe, Asia, and Libya, to whom I am become a counselor, being a benevolent disciple of the benevolent Word, in order that, flocking to us, ye may be taught by us who is the true God and what is his well-ordered workmanship, and may not attend to the sophisms of artful reasonings, nor to the vain promises of delusive heretics, but to the grave simplicity of unadorned truth. By this knowledge ye will escape the approaching of the fire of judgment, and the dark, rayless eye of Tartarus, never illumined by the voice of the Word, and the turbulence of the ever-flowing lake of hellish fire, and the ever-fixed, threatening eye of the avenging angels of Tartarus, and the worm which winds itself round the foaming body to feed upon it. This thou wilt escape, having been taught to know the true God; and thou wilt have a body immortal, even incorruptible along with the soul, and

wilt receive the kingdom of heaven. Having lived on earth, and having known the heavenly King, thou wilt be a companion of God, and a fellow-heir with Christ, not subject to lust, or passion, or sickness. For thou hast become God. For whatever hardships thou hadst to suffer when a man, he gave them to thee because thou wast a man; but that which is proper to God, this God has promised to bestow upon thee, because thou hast been deified, begotten unto immortality. This is [the meaning of] "know thyself," to know God who has made thee. For to know one's self becomes him who is called by God to be known by him.

"Therefore, O men, be not your own enemies; and doubt not that you will exist again. For Christ is he whom the God of all has directed to wash away sin from mankind [so], renewing the old man, having called him his image from the beginning typically, showing forth his love to thee. If thou art obedient to his solemn behests, and becomest a good follower of him who is good, thou wilt become like him, honored by him. For God acts the beggar toward thee, having even made thee God unto his glory."\* (Book X, chaps. xxviii-xxx.)

#### TREATISE ON CHRIST AND ANTICHRIST.

After his great work, this is the longest writing of Hippolytus which has come down to us, but it is relatively of little importance. It consists chiefly of an exposition of the prophecies of Daniel and of the Apocalypse. The four kingdoms represented by the four parts of the great image, and the four

\* Bunsen conjectured that the second part of the "Epistle to Diognetus" (see Book I, p. 138) was the concluding part of this closing address of Hippolytus.

beasts in Daniel, are those of the Babylonians, the Persians, the Grecians, and the Romans. Anti-christ, whose kingdom is represented by the beast coming out of the earth, seen by John, will in all things imitate the Christ. He will gather the dispersed people together at Jerusalem, will restore their nation, and will there build a temple of stone. He will also persecute the saints. After this manifestation, Christ will come in glory. Elsewhere—in his commentary on Daniel—Hippolytus fixes this consummation at A. D. 500.

#### HOMILY AGAINST THE NOETIAN HERESY.

Noëtus held that the Father was born and suffered; also that he himself was Moses. At his trial he said, "What evil, then, am I doing in glorifying Christ?" He was, however, expelled from the church. He quoted from Scripture only one class of passages, as Theodotus, on the other hand, quoted only those of an opposite character. Against these quotations Hippolytus cites such passages as 1 Cor. xv, 23-28, John xx, 17, and "I and my Father *are*"—not *is*—"one." Having stated his own conception of God as manifested in a threefold way,<sup>1</sup> the author declares that the truth concerning God is to be found in the Scriptures alone. God having nothing contemporaneous with him, existed alone, and yet "existed in plurality." He also made himself visible to the world through the Word.<sup>2</sup> While thus "another" appeared, there was but one God,<sup>3</sup> as all admit. After the citation of Isa. lxv, 1, and John i, 1-3, it is declared that "We accordingly see

the Word incarnate, and we know the Father by him, and we believe in the Son, and we worship the Holy Spirit." After comments on Jer. xxiii, 18, and Acts x, 36, in which he says that "the will of the Father is Jesus Christ," the author proceeds to a consideration of the Trinity.<sup>4</sup> Treating of the Son as the Word, he explains the significance of the sonship.<sup>5</sup> This incarnation of the Word is indeed incomprehensible; still, the Word "was manifested as God in a body, coming forth, too, as a perfect man." Declaring that "though thus demonstrated as God, he did not refuse the conditions proper to him as man," the homily closes with a striking passage upon the sufferings, death, and resurrection of Jesus, and upon the mighty works that attended his life and death.

*Extracts.*

1. "One is therefore compelled, even though unwilling, to acknowledge God the Father Almighty, and Christ Jesus the Son of God, who, being God, became man, to whom also the Father subjected all things, excepting himself and the Holy Spirit; and that these are really three. But if he wishes to learn how it is shown that there is one God, let him know that his power is one; and that as far as regards the power, God is one, but as far as regards the administration there is a threefold manifestation." (Sec. 8.)

2. "And as the Author of things made, and as Counselor and Executive, he begat the Word. . . . And, whereas he was visible formerly to himself alone, and invisible to the world which is made, he made him [the Word] visible, in order that the world, seeing him in his manifestation, might be capable of being saved." (Sec. 10.)

3. "And thus another was placed beside himself. But in saying another, I do not say that there are two Gods, but [that it is only] as light of light, or as water from a fountain, or as a ray from the sun. For there is but one power, which is from the All, and the Father is the All from whom cometh this power, the Word. And this is the mind which, coming forth into the world, was manifested as the Son of God. All things, then, are by him, and he alone is of the Father." (Sec. II.)

4. "If, then, the Word was with God, being God, why, then, some one might say, dost thou speak of two Gods? I shall not, indeed, speak of two Gods, but of one; of two persons, however, and [for purposes of] administration, of a third, viz., the grace of the Holy Ghost. For the Father indeed is one, but there are two persons, because there is also the Son; and there is the third, the Holy Spirit. The Father decrees, the Word executes, and the Son is manifested, through whom the Father is believed on. In the administration, harmony is led back to one God; for God is One. It is the Father who commands, and the Son who obeys, and the Holy Spirit who gives understanding. The Father is above all, and the Son is through all, and the Holy Spirit is in all. And we can not otherwise think of one God, but by really believing in Father and Son and Holy Spirit. For the Jews glorified the Father, but gave him not thanks, for they did not recognize the Son. The disciples recognized the Son, but not in the Holy Ghost; wherefore they also denied him. The Word of the Father, therefore, knowing the administration and the will of the Father, to wit, that the Father seeks to be worshiped in none other way than this, gave charge to the disciples after he rose from the dead, saying, 'Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the



Holy Ghost'; showing thereby that whosoever omitted any one of these did not glorify God perfectly. For it is through this Trinity that the Father is glorified. For the Father willed, the Son executed, the Spirit manifested. The whole Scriptures, then, proclaim this truth." (Sec. 14.)

5. "What Son of his own, then, did God send through the flesh but the Word, whom he addressed as Son because he was to become such in the future? And he takes the common name for tender affection among men in being called the Son. For the Word, while yet unincarnate and by himself, was not perfect Son (although he was perfect Word, only-begotten). Nor could the flesh subsist by itself apart from the Word, because it had its subsistence in the Word. Thus, then, one perfect Son of God was manifested." (Sec. 15.)

#### AGAINST BERON AND HELIX, HERETICS.

This is a metaphysical discourse, opposing the doctrine of the fusion of the two natures of Christ. There are preserved to us eight fragments, of which the following is the eighth :

#### *Extract.*

"Into this error, then, have they been carried by wickedly believing that that divine energy was made the property of the flesh which was only manifested through the flesh in his miraculous actions; by which energy Christ, in so far as he is apprehended as God, having given existence to the universe, now holds it under his government. For they did not perceive that it is impossible for the energy of the divine nature to become the property of a being of a different nature apart from conversion; nor did they un-

derstand that that is not by any means the property of the flesh which is only manifested through it, and does not spring out of it according to nature; and yet the proof thereof was clear and evident to them. For I, by speaking with the tongue, and writing with the hand, reveal through both these one and the same thought of my intelligent soul, its energy being natural; by no sign showing it as springing naturally out of tongue or hand; nor yet [showing] even the spoken thought as belonging to them by virtue of its revelation by their means. For no intelligent person ever recognized tongue or hand as capable of thought, just as also no one ever [recognized] the perfectly holy flesh of God, in virtue of its assumption, and in virtue of the revelation of the divine energy through its medium, as becoming in nature creative. But one believing piously, confesses that, with a view to our salvation, and in order to connect the universe with unchangeableness, the Creator of all things, having incorporated with himself a rational soul, together with a sensible body, from the all-holy Mary, ever virgin, by an undefiled conception, without conversion, was made man in nature, but separate from wickedness: the same was perfect God [and the same was perfect man; the same was in nature at once perfect God and man\*]. In his Deity he wrought divine things through his all-holy flesh—such things, namely, as did not pertain to the flesh by nature, and in his humanity he suffered human things—such things, namely, as did not pertain to Deity by nature, by the upbearing of the Deity. He wrought nothing divine without the body, nor did the same do anything human without the participation of the Deity. He also preserved for himself a novel method by which he wrought [according to the manner of] both, while that which was natural to both remained

\* Perhaps a later addition.

unchanged; to the accrediting of his perfect incarnation, which is really genuine, and has nothing lacking in it. Beron, therefore, holding thus, as I have stated, confounding together in nature the Deity and the humanity of Christ in a single energy, and again separating them in person, subverts the life, not knowing that identical operation is indicative of the connatural identity only of connatural persons."

#### DISCOURSE ON THE HOLY THEOPHANY.

This is a beautiful baptismal sermon, in which, after celebrating the excellence of God's works—especially water, the dignity of which is enhanced by its relations to Christ—the contrast between the appearing of John and of Christ is set forth. After giving the address of John to Jesus and of Jesus to John, at the baptism, the blessed results of this baptism are adduced. The testimony of the Spirit and the voice, "This is my beloved Son," it is said, ratified the ancient utterance: "The voice of the Lord is on the waters, the God of glory thundereth; the Lord is upon many waters." We come into our inheritance by water and the Holy Ghost.<sup>1</sup> The discourse then identifies the Spirit;<sup>2</sup> and bids men to the adoption of God.<sup>3</sup>

#### *Extracts.*

1. "If, therefore, man has become immortal, he will also be God. And if he is made God by water and the Holy Spirit after the regeneration of the laver, he is found to be also joint heir with Christ after the resurrection from the dead. Wherefore I preach, saying: Come, all ye kindreds of the na-

tions, to the immortality of the baptism. I bring good tidings of life to you who are wasting [your lives] in the darkness of ignorance. Come into liberty from slavery, into a kingdom from tyranny, into incorruption from corruption. And how, saith one, shall we come? How? By water and the Holy Ghost. This is the water in conjunction with the Spirit, by which Paradise is watered, by which the earth is enriched, by which plants grow, by which animals multiply, and (to sum up the whole in a single word) by which man, being begotten again, is endued with life, in which Christ also was baptized, and in which the Spirit descended in the form of a dove." (Sec. 8.)

2. "This is the Spirit that at the beginning 'moved upon the face of the waters'; by whom the world moves; by whom creation consists, and all things have life; who also wrought mightily in the prophets, and descended in flight upon Christ. This is the Spirit that was given to the apostles in the form of fiery tongues. This is the Spirit that David sought when he said, 'Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.' Of this Spirit Gabriel also spoke to the Virgin, 'The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee.' By this Spirit Peter spake that blessed word, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' By this Spirit the rock of the church was established. This is the Spirit, the Comforter, that is sent because of thee, that he may show thee [to be] a child of God." (Sec. 9.)

3. "Come, then, be begotten again, O man, into the adoption of God. [Quotation of Isa. i, 16-19.] Thou seest, beloved, how the prophet spake before-time of the purifying power of baptism. For he who comes down in faith to the laver of regeneration, renounces the devil, and joins himself to Christ;

he denies the enemy, and makes the confession that Christ is God; he puts off the bondage and puts on the adoption; he comes up from the baptism brilliant as the sun, flashing forth the beams of righteousness; and, chief of all, he returns a son of God and joint heir with Christ. To him be the glory and the power, together with his most holy and good and quickening Spirit, now and ever, and to all the ages of the ages. Amen."

## HIPPOLYTUS ON GIFTS.

A treatise on this subject, which embraced a consideration of church ordinances, is in part preserved to us in a manuscript at Vienna, which embodies, in an abbreviated form, the eighth book of the Greek Apostolical Constitutions. The name of Hippolytus, thus attached to a work upon church ordinances, has also been coupled (under the form Abulides) with the Ethiopic and Coptic canons. How much, if any, of these works belongs to Hippolytus we do not know. That there were definitely formulated rules for the government of the churches in his times can not be doubted; and his zeal for the maintenance of discipline may have led to the coupling with his name of a disciplinary code which was the growth of a century after his day.

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TREATISE AGAINST THE HERESY OF ARTEMON; OR,  
THE LITTLE LABYRINTH.

In associating this treatise with Hippolytus, it must be explained that Eusebius, who preserved

the three fragments now extant, called it anonymous, and that Photius, upon hearsay, ascribed it to Caius. But Photius, who had the whole work, expressly says that the author, "at the end of the Labyrinth, bore testimony that the work 'On the Substance of the Universe' was his own." Now this latter work belongs, incontestably, to Hippolytus; hence the reasonable assurance with which the Labyrinth is assigned to Hippolytus. But Jerome identifies the treatise against the heresy of Artemon with the Labyrinth. Still, we only rank this as a probable work of our author. The first fragment is given entire, being of great importance in its bearing upon the theory, once propounded by Tübingen writers, of a radical change in the doctrine of the Roman Church toward the close of the second century.

*Extract.*

"For they [the heretics] say that all those of former times, and the apostles themselves, received and taught the things which these now declare, and that the truth of the preaching was preserved until the time of Victor, who was the thirteenth bishop from Peter in Rome; but that from his successor, Zephyrinus, the truth was perverted. The assertion might perhaps be credible, if, in the first place, the Holy Scriptures were not against them. Besides, there are writings of certain brethren, older than the time of Victor, which they wrote against the heathen in behalf of the truth and against the then [prevailing] heresies. I speak of [the writings of] Justus and Miltiades and Tatian and Clement, and many others, in all which Christ is spoken of as divine. For who does not know of the books of Irenæus and Melito and the rest, which speak of

Christ as God and man? Then, all the psalms and hymns of the brethren, written from the beginning by the faithful, celebrate Christ, the Word of God, speaking of him as divine. How, then, is it possible, the ecclesiastical doctrine having been proclaimed so many years, that those until the times of Victor preached in such manner as they declare? And how are they not ashamed falsely to charge these things against Victor, knowing well that Victor excommunicated Theodotus the tanner, the leader and father of this atheistic apostasy, who first declared that Christ was a mere man? For if, as they say, Victor held to such things as their blasphemy teaches, why should he expel the author of this heresy? "

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## CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

By his books do we know him. We catch sight of the other two great teachers of Alexandria mingling with the world and taking an active part in the controversies of the Church, but Clement we can only trace as a scholar. We see him in an alcove of the Alexandrian Library, poring over its priceless volumes, regaling himself, as he says, with the sweetmeats of Greek learning; or again in his professor's chair at the Catechetical School, with hardly less scholarly surroundings. For, besides the advanced Christian students who wait upon his words—among them the young Origen—there are before him Greek philosophers, Neo-Platonist inquirers, who gather to hear what this Christian lecturer calls "Our Divine Philosophy."

When Titus Flavius Clemens was born we can not tell, nor whether at Athens or Alexandria. We only know of his earlier career, that it was that of an earnest, truth-seeking student, who before his conversion had made himself thoroughly familiar with the Greek literature and philosophy, and had, perhaps, been initiated into some of the heathen mysteries. Upon embracing Christianity, he sought instruction far and wide from the most distinguished teachers. "He with whom I last met," he says, "was the first in power; and having discovered him lying concealed in Egypt, I desisted from further search. For he was in truth a Sicilian bee, who, cropping the flowers of the prophetic and apostolic meadow, caused a pure knowledge to grow up in the minds of his hearers." This was, without doubt, Pantænus, the head of the Alexandrian Catechetical School, to whose position Clement succeeded not far from A. D. 190. While here, Clement was made a presbyter. His catechetical work was interrupted by the persecution under Severus, A. D. 202, which caused him to withdraw from Alexandria. We catch sight of him A. D. 211, when he is the bearer of a letter from Jerusalem to Antioch, in which Alexander writes to the Antiochians of Clement as "The blessed presbyter, a man virtuous and tried, whom ye know and will come to know completely, who, being here by the providence and guidance of the Ruler of all, strengthened and increased the Church of the Lord." As Alexander had been a pupil of Clement, it is conjectured that, on leaving Alexandria, the latter had visited him at his home in Cappadocia, and had accompanied him



to Jerusalem on his promotion to that see. Clement would seem to have ended his days here in the East, but the time, place, and circumstances of his decease are alike obscure.

He was distinctively the philosopher of the period, and indeed of the early church. The new faith had had numerous converts from the philosophic schools, and Clement belonged to that succession of men of whom Quadratus, and Justin, and Athenagoras, and Pantænus had been representatives; and yet he was a unique member of the order. We might say of Justin that he was as distinctively and entirely a Christian as he could be without ceasing to be a philosopher; and of Clement, that he was as thoroughly and devotedly a philosopher as he could be without ceasing to be a Christian. Justin was Hebraic in his philosophizings; Clement was Hellenic in his professions of faith. At the root of his "divine philosophy" lay the idea of a Christian *gnosis*, or higher knowledge, which so far transcended a simple *faith* that those possessing it became perfect, "of angelic rank," "divine," "God-bearing, and God-borne." True, faith was essential as a foundation for this knowledge; but the mere believer must remain of low rank in the kingdom of God. Any such believer, however, might by his own choice, through instruction and meditation, attain to knowledge. Such instruction was to come primarily from the Divine Word; but everything in the range of human learning was to be welcomed as coöperating with Him. For Clement gratefully acknowledged truth wherever found, whether among heathens or heretics. His "Miscellanies"

is a very storehouse of literary treasures, containing quotations from more than a hundred Greek authors, such as could only have been made with a library at hand. His eager devotion to intellectual pursuits may have made him less sensible of some of the humbler aspects of Christianity; and yet there is in all that he says a sincere and devout tone, as of one truly consecrated to the service of Christ. It should be observed, too, that while constantly confirming his propositions from the Greek writers, he ever turns for a final appeal to the Scriptures; and that the beginning and end of all his inquiries and meditations is the Eternal Son.

There are extant of Clement's writings three principal works, which together make a systematic whole: the "Exhortation to the Heathen," the "Instructor," and the "Miscellanies." These are all given hereafter in outline. We have also a discourse entitled "Who is the Rich Man who is Saved?" Of Clement's lost works, the principal was the "Hypotyposis," a commentary on all the Scripture books. It was from reading Photius's description of this book as marked by impiety—a description now deemed very unjust—that Benedict XIV struck Clement's name out of the Roman calendar. All the early writers had deservedly spoken of him in terms of highest praise. That his philosophy was not inconsistent with a spirit of simple and devout trust in Christ, is proved by the fervent tone of his hymn to Christ the Saviour.

## CLEMENT'S CHIEF WORKS.

## EXHORTATION TO THE HEATHEN.

THE author declares that, leaving the poets with their myths<sup>1</sup> and hymns on Cithæron and Helicon, he devotes himself to the truth set forth in the New Song, which is the manifestation of the Word for the salvation of us who were lost, and which alone has "tamed men, the most savage of beasts." Let us run to this Saviour, the cause of our being and of our well-being, who now exhorts us in many tones of voice. The heathen mysteries are full of impostures, and the gods—manufactured by men—are shameless and corrupt, as the examples here given from the Greek mythology prove. The human sacrifices to these gods were most cruel; the worship of their images was senseless. The philosophers, though discarding images, deify the elements. And yet, through divine inspiration, the philosophers did attain to some truth concerning the true God; for example, Plato,<sup>2</sup> Antisthenes, and Xenophon, disciples of Socrates; also Cleanthes the Stoic, as well as the Pythagoreans. The poets, too, reveal truth; as Aratus, Hesiod, Sophocles, Euripides, Orpheus, and Homer.

The Scriptures, however, though devoid of outward beauty of diction, are "the short road to salvation," Jeremiah and Isaiah giving the true doctrine of God. God, by the voice of the divine Word, is calling after men with surpassing love. "Oh! the prodigious folly of being ashamed of the Lord!" Let men secure eternal salvation—regeneration, of more value than Pactolus, as the Scripture exhorts: "Taste and see that Christ is God." "Come hither, O children, listen to me, and I will teach you the fear of the Lord." If it is said that

we should not forsake the customs of our fathers, we ask, should we not leave the milk of infancy for the meat of manhood? Leaving superstition, "let us then openly strip for the contest, and nobly strive in the arena of truth, the holy Word being the judge, and the Lord of the universe prescribing the contest. For no insignificant prize is the immortality which is set before us." Practice husbandry, sail the seas, and at the same time "know God." "A noble hymn of God is an immortal man established in righteousness." Be wise, and enter on the practice of piety. "Let the Athenian follow the laws of Solon; the Argive those of Phoroneus; the Spartan those of Lycurgus; but, if you enroll yourself among the citizens of God, heaven is your country, and God your law-giver." Contemplate the divine beneficence; man, once bound, is set free.<sup>3</sup> Having Christ, one need not go to Greece or Ionia for instruction, having already all. Then "receive Christ, receive sight, receive thy light, receive God's laws." "Let us render to him the grateful recompense of a thankful heart and of piety, as a kind of house-rent for our dwelling here below." Let all leave pleasure and divination, and let us haste to take on the yoke of Christ and love him.

All things are God's, and so, by man's becoming his friend, all things become man's. The pious Christian only becomes God's image, and also his likeness, having become righteous and holy and wise by Jesus Christ, and so far already like God.

#### EXTRACTS FROM EXHORTATION.

1. The myth of Eunomus the Locrian and the Pythic grasshopper:—"A solemn assembly of the Greeks had convened at Pytho, on account of the

death of the serpent, when Eunomus sang the snake's epitaph. Eunomus was playing the lyre, it being summer time, when the grasshoppers were chirping under the leaves along the hills, warmed by the sun; but they were singing not to the dragon who was dead, but to God the Allwise—a free song, better than the numbered strains of Eunomus. A string of the Locrian breaks. The grasshopper flew upon the cross-bar, and chirruped on the instrument as on a branch; and the ode, chording with the lay of the grasshopper, made up for the missing string." (Chap. 1.)

2. "For we do not, if you please, wholly reject Plato. How, then, must one trace out God, O Plato? 'For it is difficult to find out the Maker and Father of this universe; and, found out, it is impossible fully to declare him.' Why, forsooth? by himself, I ask. Since he is in no wise to be expressed. Well said, O Plato! thou hast touched the truth. But do not flag; take up with me the inquiry concerning the good. For a certain divine effluence has been distilled upon all mankind, but chiefly upon those who are occupied with rational inquiries; on which account, though reluctantly, they confess that God is one, imperishable, and unbegotten, and that somewhere above, in the tracts of heaven, as in his own peculiar high-place of vision, he actually and eternally exists." (Chap. 6.)

3. "The first man when in Paradise sported free, since he was a child of God; but, when he yielded to pleasure (for the serpent allegorically signifies pleasure crawling on its belly, earthly wickedness nourished for fuel), he was beguiled by lusts as a child, and grew old in disobedience. Man, free through simplicity, was found bound to sins. The Lord, then, wished to loose him from his bonds, and being bound in the flesh—O divine mystery!—overcame the serpent and enslaved the

tyrant death; and, most wonderful, he set forth free, his hands unbound, the man who had been deceived by pleasure, bound to corruption." (Chap. 11.)

### THE INSTRUCTOR.

*Book One.*—The aim of "The Instructor"<sup>1</sup> is to train the soul to a virtuous, not to an intellectual life. We are to assimilate our souls to him—he, the Word, being "the only Pæonian physician of human infirmities," who cures from sin by his exhortations. Man is God's workmanship, and, being lovable, is loved by him, which love is to be returned in obedience. This virtue and faith are the same to man and woman, the name man including both. The instructed are children of God, yet not childish;<sup>2</sup> they have that "eternal adjustment of the vision, which is able to see the eternal light"; and this vision comes through the baptism of the Word. It may come to all, since there are not, in the Word, some "illuminated" and some mere "animal" men. Milk, which is a perfect nourishment, is figuratively represented by the Lord's blood, by which we are redeemed. Our instruction<sup>3</sup> is from the Word who wrestled with Jacob, and was the teacher of Moses. God hates nothing that he makes, and much more does the Word love man, notwithstanding that punishments are visited on him. He who bids us to pray for our enemies does not take revenge, but administers rebuke, which is "the medicine of the divine love to man, by which the blush of modesty breaks forth, and shame at sin supervenes." His discipline is by means of admonition, upbraiding, complaint, invective, reproof, censure, visitation, denunciation, accusation, bewailing, abjuration, and indignation. He also dissuades from evil by encouragements.

The Word, of old, instructed by Moses and the prophets; but he himself draws for us the model of a true life,<sup>4</sup> imparts dignity to our common acts, becomes our Saviour. Whatever is contrary to reason is sin, as also "obedience to reason—the Word—which we call faith, will of necessity be the efficacious cause of duty. . . . Christian conduct is the operation of the rational soul in accordance with a correct judgment. . . . Virtue is a will in conformity to God and Christ in life, rightly adjusted to life everlasting."

*Book Two.*—Instruction is given upon various practical subjects. As to eating, it is enjoined that the Christian eats to live, and that so his food should be simple. Practical advice is also given as to proper conduct at table. In the same manner instruction is offered on drinking, in which it is said that if the Lord "made water wine at the marriage, he did not give permission to get drunk"; on costly vessels, containing the remark that the Lord "did not bring down a silver foot-bath from heaven"; on conduct at feasts; on laughter; on filthy speaking; on conduct in company; on the use of ointments and crowns; on sleep; *de procreatione liberorum*; on clothes, suggesting that "our life ought to be anything rather than a pageant"; on shoes; and against excessive delight in jewels and ornaments, containing the admonition that modesty and chastity are collars and necklaces, the chains that God forges.

*Book Three.*—The greatest of all lessons is to know one's self, and so to know God. He possesses true beauty with whom the Word dwells, and who is thus made like God. Another beauty of men, also, is the love that vaunteth not itself. The Lord himself was uncomely in aspect. The body is not to be embellished, especially by men. The man who would be beautiful should adorn his mind;

but, alas, the wickedness that prevails over the cities! Men and women throng themselves with servants and with licentious panders, and forget the poor. In the baths there is shameless immodesty, whereas all should study a modest behavior, everywhere regarding the Word. Righteousness only is true riches; and frugality, like that of Elias the Tishbite, is a good provision for the journey to heaven. In instruction in righteousness, examples are helpful, stimulating, and warning. The baths have their legitimate uses and are to be rightly employed. So, also, are suitable exercises to be taken. In chapter twelve a compendious survey of the Christian life treats of clothes, ear-rings, finger-rings, the hair, painting the face, walking, the model maiden, amusements and associates, public spectacles, religion in ordinary life,<sup>6</sup> going to church, out of church, love and the kiss of charity, and the government of the eyes. The teachings thus given by the Instructor are finally confirmed by many texts of Scripture. The work closes with a prayer to the Instructor—who is called Father, Charioteer of Israel, Son and Father both in one—to be gracious to his children. Appended are a hymn of Clement to *Christ the Saviour* and a poetic address to the *Instructor*.

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE INSTRUCTOR.

1. "Our Instructor, O ye children, is like his Father, God, whose son he is; sinless, blameless, and of dispassionate soul; God in the form of man, stainless, the minister of the Father's will; the Word who is God, who is in the Father, who is at the right hand of the Father, and who with the all right [of God] is God." (Book I, chap. 2.)

2. "For we are not called children and infants



on account of the childish and contemptible nature of our learning, as those puffed up by knowledge had slanderously declared. In truth, immediately upon our regeneration, we attained the perfection after which we were striving; for we were enlightened, which is to know God." (Book I, chap. 6.)

3. "Now, instruction is piety, being the science of the service of God, training in the knowledge of the truth, the right guidance which leads to heaven. The word 'instruction' is variously used: referring to him who is led and taught, and to him who leads and teaches; thirdly, of the guidance itself; and fourthly, of what is taught, as the commandments. But the instruction which regards God is the right direction of truth to the contemplation of God, and the delineation of holy actions in perpetual perseverance. As the general, then, conducts the phalanx with reference to the safety of the troops, . . . so also the Instructor guides the children, . . . and, in general, whatever we ask reasonably from God to be done for us, will happen to those who believe in the Instructor." (Book I, chap. 7.)

4. "He himself seems to me to have formed man from the dust and to have regenerated him by water; to have caused him to grow by the Spirit; to have instructed him by his word, directing him by holy precepts to adoption and salvation, in order that, transforming the earth-born into a holy and heavenly man by his advent, he might fulfill completely the divine word, 'Let us make man in our own image and likeness.' This, which God spake, Christ was, in perfection; the rest of mankind are conceived of as only 'in the image.' Let us, O children of the good Father, pupils of the good Instructor, fulfill the will of the Father, listen to the Word, and take on the impress of the truly saving life of our Saviour; practicing even here that heavenly conversation, by which, being made di-

vine, we may anoint ourselves with the chrism of gladness, pure, cheering, ever-blooming, having the conversation of the Lord as a clear pattern of incorruption, and following the footsteps of God." (Book I, chap. 12.)

5. "But, it is said, we do not all philosophize. Do we not all, then, pursue life? What say you? How did you, then, believe? How do you love God and your neighbor if you do not philosophize? And how do you love yourself if you do not love life? It is said, I have not learned letters. But if you have not learned to read, there is no excuse in the matter of hearing, for it is not taught. Faith is the possession of those who are wise, not according to the world, but to God; it is learned without letters; and its writing, which is at once rude and divine, is called love—a spiritual composition. It is permissible to listen to divine wisdom, and also to engage in public pursuits; and it is not forbidden to conduct affairs in the world decorously according to God. The seller or buyer of anything should not name two prices for what is bought or sold. . . . But, above all, let a blameworthy oath on account of what is sold be far from you, and let swearing about other things also be absent. And in this way let those who frequent the market-place and the shop philosophize." (Book III, chap. 11.)

"THE MISCELLANIES;" OR, STROMATA.

Of this work the author himself says:

"The 'Miscellanies' are not like parks adorned, planted in regular order, to please the eye, but rather like some shaded and bushy hill planted with cypresses and planes, with the bay-tree and the ivy, together with apples and olives and figs; the planting purposely mixing together fruit-bear-

ing and fruitless trees—since, on account of those who venture to pilfer and steal the ripe fruit, the writing intends to conceal. From which, however, the husbandman, transplanting and shifting, will adorn a beautiful park and a delightful grove. The ‘Miscellanies,’ then, do not study either order or diction.” (Book VII, chap. 18.)

*Book One.*—It is desirable, Clement declares, that earnest men write books upon the truth as well as preach it. “He that speaks through books consecrates himself before God, crying in writing thus: Not for gain, not for vainglory, not to be vanquished by partiality, nor enslaved by fear, nor elated by pleasure; but only to reap the salvation of those who read.” This work is not artfully constructed for display, but is a memorandum for old age of the discourses of remarkable men whom the author has heard. These men preserved the tradition of the doctrine received from the apostles. The Lord did not disclose all things to the many, but to the few.<sup>1</sup> This writing does not profess to explain fully secret things, but only to recall to memory certain things, omitting others, as we would not give a sword to a child. What is best in philosophy will be used;<sup>2</sup> this for the reason that “many things, though not contributing to the final result, equip the artist.” All wisdom is alike from God, and philosophy is the handmaid of theology.<sup>3</sup> “It is not by nature alone, but also by learning, that people become noble and good.”<sup>4</sup> Although a believer, one can not comprehend the things of the faith without knowledge; hence the need of Greek learning. The apostle, in warning against philosophy, referred only to what is false and atheistic, like the Epicurean. The philosophies have torn off fragments from the theology of the Word, so that the gnostic (Clement uses this term in a good sense) can find truth in each. The Greeks,

however, were largely indebted to the barbarians. That they had attained to some truth is attested by Acts xvii, 22-28. But while philosophy is a co-operating cause of the understanding of the truth, the teaching of the Saviour is perfect—the bread essential to life, philosophy being the sauce and sweetmeats.

As preparatory to later discussion, the antiquity of the Jewish faith is here set forth. Moses is claimed to have served as a model for Miltiades in generalship, and to have aided Plato in framing laws. The following division of the Mosaic law is given in terms of the Greek philosophy :

- I. Ethics, embracing—1. History, and 2. Legislation.
- II. Physical Science, treating of—3. Sacrifices.
- III. Metaphysics, or—4. Theology, vision.

Thus “beautifully the Egyptian priest in Plato said, ‘O Solon, Solon, you Greeks are always children, not having in your souls a single ancient opinion received through tradition from antiquity.’”

*Book Two.*—The pilfering of the Greeks, it is said, is set forth to humble those who go across the seas to study Greek learning. The way to truth is by faith. The professed aim of our philosophy is to lead to the Ruler of all.<sup>5</sup> We do not hold, with Basilides and Valentinus, that faith is a natural advantage; but that it is the result of choice; else—if we were “pulled like inanimate things by the puppet-strings of natural powers”—there were no call for repentance or forgiveness of sins. Faith is the foundation of knowledge, as is confirmed by Aristotle and Epicurus; also by the prophet: “Unless ye believe, neither will ye understand.” Faith, the basis of repentance, of hope, of love, is divine. It is not from fear, but it makes men fear. Faith is the first movement toward salvation. It is

more elementary than knowledge, and is as essential to the true gnostic as respiration. Fear is not necessarily a perturbation of mind, but may be "the beginning of wisdom." Our philosopher applies himself to speculation, to the performance of the precepts, and to the forming of good men; which things concurring, he is a gnostic. As such he is fixed by faith, the virtue inclosing the Church. God has no natural relation to us, we being wholly estranged from him by nature; nevertheless, he pities and cares for us. The Mosaic law was the foundation of the ethical code of the Greeks. The gnostic, having one virtue, has all; he has few needs;<sup>6</sup> he is an imitator of God, doing good in word and deed; he also exercises patience and self-restraint. Our philosophy declares that the passions are impressions made on the soul, "as it were, the signatures of the spiritual powers with whom we struggle." They are not appendages to the soul, nor evil spirits dwelling in the soul, as the heretics claim; rather, as says the apostle Barnabas, sinners exercise activities appropriate to demons. The heretic chief, who called himself a gnostic, deceived himself when he thought to combat pleasure with pleasure, to the abuse of the flesh. Pleasure is no part of us, and the Greeks are not right in running down the divine law that would restrain us. By the law, noble examples are brought before us; and Zeno said, proving the value of examples, that "he would rather have seen one Indian roasted than have learned the whole of the arguments about bearing pain." The opinions of various philosophers as to the chief good are here given. For example, Epicurus says that pleasure is the end of life; virtue is only a means thereto. Others have higher views. Plato's opinion is closely akin to that of Paul, who lays down, as the aim of faith, "assimilation to God, so that, as far as possible, a

man becomes righteous and holy with wisdom." The book closes by setting forth the Christian idea of marriage.

*Book Three.*—The entire book is devoted to a refutation of the erroneous opinions, and a condemnation of the unholy practices, of heretics in regard to marriage; and to an exposition of Scripture passages bearing upon the same.

*Book Four.*—These *stromata* are said to be a series of discussions passing constantly to different subjects, hinting at one thing and proving another. The distinctive work of man is to turn away the soul from the body and its lusts to God. Martyrdom we call perfection, because therein men exhibit the perfect work of love. The perfect confession of God may be made by all, however they may die, these attaining the gnostic martyrdom. Martyrdom is not to be avoided by denial, nor is it to be courted. They are to be admired who, like the Stoics and like Job, do not let outward things affect the soul. Poverty, for example, is too apt to draw away the soul from contemplation; hence in avoiding it we do so for the soul's sake. After comments on our Lord's teaching in the Sermon on the Mount, the blessedness of the martyr is set forth; also the fact that women, children, and servants may attain the highest excellence, may philosophize to the saving of their souls. There is a peculiarly saving efficacy in thus confessing unto the death.<sup>7</sup> God permits these martyrdoms and overrules the crimes of the persecutors for good. The heretics, in supposing that some men are saved by nature, and that they came to this earth to abolish death, which came through the Creator, deny that Christ hath abolished death. Examples are given of women who have attained perfection. Men in this life are perfect in various directions, none except the Saviour in all; yet the gnostic martyr at death does become

perfect. The gnostic does good and desires knowledge for their own sake, and not for ulterior ends.<sup>8</sup> All sins committed before baptism are remitted—this contrary to Basilides, who says that involuntary sins, those committed after baptism, are purged. The perfect man does not vilify the body, since the soul is not by nature good and the body by nature bad. The soul is not sent down from heaven to what is worse; for God works all things up to what is better.

*Book Five.*—Faith is twofold: 1. The common, as a foundation; and, 2. The faith resulting from instruction. This is not by nature, as says Basilides. Some questions do not admit of the asking: for example, to ask proof of the existence of Providence deserves punishment. Wisdom not intended for men until Christ should come was communicated to women by the unholy angels, and so came to the Greeks. Thus they celebrate faith. Hope also is known to them, as to Socrates. The objects of faith and hope are perceived by the mind alone, and are presented by the barbarian philosophers as the Word of God. The knowledge of ignorance is the first lesson in walking according to the Word. Knowledge of divine things is wrapped in figures, as in Egyptian hieroglyphics, Greek aphorisms, the theology of the poets, Pythagorean symbols, symbols in the tabernacle, Egyptian symbols, the Ephesian letters, etc. This veiling is so as not to impart all truth to careless listeners. So the apostle speaks of feeding the Corinthians milk and not strong meat, for which, being carnal, they were unprepared. God is not to be thought of as sharing all things with us; the ascription of hands, etc., to him by the Hebrews is not literal. Euripides, "the philosopher of the drama," is said to allude to God the Father and the Son. God can with difficulty be embraced by the

mind, and such knowledge is allowed even by the philosophers to be a divine gift. So, according to Plato's own reasoning, the Old and New Testament utterances are to be believed, though offering no proof. They, therefore, who vilify philosophy vilify the faith. Again, "men must be saved by learning the truth through Christ, even if they attain philosophy."

A long list of Greek plagiarisms from the Hebrews embraces, with others, the Stoic saying that God pervades all, from Wisd. vii, 24; the philosopher's idea of matter, from Gen. i, 2; Epicurus's doctrine of chance, from Eccl. i, 2; Aristotle's teaching that Providence extends as far as the moon, from Ps. xxxvi, 5; Plato's doctrine of future punishment, and so of immortality, from the barbarian's Gehenna; his doctrine of ideas, from Gen. i, 2 (rendered "and the earth was invisible"), and i, 26; his suggestion of the Trinity;<sup>9</sup> the idea of a removal of all things given by Empedocles and Heraclitus; the notion of a sacred seventh day, seen in Plato, Homer, Callimachus, and Solon; the saying of Menander that God is not propitiated by sacrifices; Homer's intimation that God is just; Æschylus's calling of God the Most High, in a passage paraphrasing Ps. lxviii, 8; Plato's exhibition of free will in the expression, "Virtue owns no master." For all these pilferings it was that the Lord called the Greeks "thieves and robbers."

*Book Six.*—After stating his purpose to exhibit "the gnostic's form of religion, as far as it is possible without danger," the author returns to Greek plagiarisms, showing them to be from one another, from the Scripture accounts of miracles, and from the philosophy of Egypt. In confirmation of the fact that the Greeks had some knowledge of God, he cites the "Preaching" of Peter, and some apocryphal book of Paul. The law and the prophets having been given to the barbarians, and philosophy to



the Greeks, "to fit their ears for the gospel," the Lord and his apostles preached the gospel in Hades, to the salvation of those who had been good under both the law and philosophy.<sup>10</sup> Those among us are called philosophers who love the Creator and Teacher of all; among the Greeks, those who reason about virtue. The perfection of the common believer is in abstinence from evil; of the gnostic, in positive well-doing. "The *gnosis* itself is that which has descended by transmission to a few, having been imparted unwritten by the apostles." Though not longer needful to the gnostic, philosophy is truly divine. The gnostic is unmoved by all the ordinary passions, like the Saviour, who was impassible, and who ate not for the sake of the body—which was kept together by a divine energy—and like the apostles, who ever after the resurrection were gnostics. The perfect man has no need of courage or cheerfulness, etc.; he does not even desire knowledge, but, possessing it, he has a gnostic love for it. Thus he is entirely impassible. He is also equal to the angels, even here. Such a one may be enrolled in the body of the apostles, being in reality a presbyter of the church, not as being ordained by men, but as righteous. He will sit down with the four-and-twenty elders. There are (in the author's opinion) ranks in heaven, corresponding to the advancements in the church, viz., to bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The perfect, "the philosophers of God," will attain to the heritage of beneficence, "devoting themselves to the pure vision of insatiable contemplation"; others, not of this fold, will have mansions in proportion to their faith. The mere believer passes to the better mansion through great discipline.<sup>11</sup> As to degrees of knowledge, it is said that philosophy contains elementary truth; Christ alone teaches the perfect truth, which is inscribed by God's power on the

"new hearts" of the gnostics. A gnostic exposition of the decalogue is here given, and philosophy is declared to have been willed by God on account of virtue. Virtuous thoughts are inspired in men by angels, who are distributed to all cities and nations. The gnostic attends to philosophy for recreation. Philosophy, however, is exclusive, compared with the universality of the gospel.

*Book Seven.*—The gnostic is so far from being an atheist that he alone is truly pious, the service of God being his soul's continual study. The first step in the faith is to know God; the next, to consider wrong-doing as opposed to God. "The best thing on earth is the most pious man, and the best thing in heaven . . . is an angel. . . . But the nature of the Son, which is the nearest to him who is alone the Almighty One, is the most perfect, and most holy, and most potent, and most princely, and most kingly, and most beneficent." The Son is "the God who before the foundation of the world was the counselor of the Father"; he is, "so to speak, a certain energy of the Father"; "having assumed sensitive flesh, he came to show man what was possible through obedience to the commandments." God is in no respect the cause of evil; but he has adapted all things for the salvation of men. The gnostic holds converse with God, through the great High Priest; "he even forms and creates himself, and, like God, adorns those who hear him." "The gnostic is pious who cares first for himself, and then for his neighbors, that they become good." The gnostic is the divine image of the Only Begotten, as he is of the Father. The gnostic is the true athlete. God is not to be circumscribed by the work of men's hands. The church is not the place where God is worshiped, but the assemblage of the elect. The gods even were dishonored by sacrifices—much more God; the true sacrifice is prayer.

The gnostic reverences the Saviour, and through him the Father, at all times, not on stated occasions: tilling and sailing, he praises God. God hears even volitions, not waiting for loquacious tongues. Prayer is converse with God; and "as God can do all that he wishes, so the gnostic receives all that he asks." Petitions are not superfluous,<sup>12</sup> though good things are given without. Thanksgiving and requests for his neighbor's conversion are functions of the gnostic; he asks also for the permanence of his possessions, for adaptation for what takes place, and for the eternity of what he receives. He does not ask for what is absent, nor for things required for necessary uses. He acquires by training a virtue that can not be lost, any more than the weight of a stone. He will, however, pray with less advanced believers for things in which they act together. The gnostic dignity is enhanced by his teaching, which—unless it be otherwise for some good purpose<sup>13</sup>—is always truthful. The steps to perfection are faith, knowledge, love.<sup>14</sup> Of the gnostic's life it is further said that, beginning with admiration of creation, he learns of God and directly believes; he discards the seductions of pleasure, etc.<sup>15</sup> His whole life is a prayer and converse with God; he surpasses the philosopher, who will not endure afflictions save for honor; he is tempted only by the permission of God, and for the good of his companions, since he uses his life as if it belonged to another; he lives in the city as in the desert, and in the desert as in the city; he impoverishes himself to give to others; he prays in the society of angels, being of angelic rank; and in his prayer he not merely asks but demands from the Lord. Further, the traditions say that Matthew constantly affirmed that "if the neighbor of an elect man sin, the elect man has sinned." Thus the gnostic is "divine, and already holy, God-bearing, and God-borne."

To the objections made to the faith on account of the sects, it is replied that there are sects among the philosophers and the Jews; also that our Lord foretold them; and that the heresies exist on account of those approved. We need not by reason of them "transgress the canon of the church." Because weeds grow in a garden, we do not cease gardening. There is a possibility of distinguishing the truth by investigation, the criterion of truth being the Scriptures. The heretics wrest the Scriptures, and prefer what seems to them more evident to the words of the Lord. The sources of all sin are ignorance, which may be cured by knowledge and demonstrations from the Scriptures, and inability, which will yield to training according to the Word and to the discipline of faith and fear. The gnostic maintains the scriptural and apostolic doctrine.<sup>10</sup> The tradition of the church is of earlier date than the heresies, the inventors of the latter having arisen in the times of Adrian and extended to the age of Antoninus. Jews and heretics were symbolized in the Scriptures by unclean beasts, in distinction from the clean, symbolizing the divine church.

*Book Eight.*—This is a treatise on logic, appended to, rather than a continuation of, the other books. Setting out from the position that the end of investigation is the discovery of truth, the author first shows the need of well-defined and understood terms. He then shows the difference between syllogizing and demonstrating, the former involving only sound reasoning from the premises, the latter presupposing sound premises as well. To prevent ambiguity, we must distinguish the essence of the thing discussed from its powers and properties. For example, the question is, Is the foetus an animal? Here the inquiry is regarding functions and sensations in a substance previously known; consequently the man who proposes the question is to be first

asked what he calls an animal. After showing that the Pyrrhonian idea that nothing is certain invalidates itself, it is said that in discussion we must know *if* a thing is, *what* it is, and *why* it is. The first is reached through induction, whose starting-point is sensation; the second by division or definition; all three through demonstration. Definition is fourfold, in accord with the four causes, material, moving, formal, and final. That form of division is approved which proceeds from the genus to the species (rather than from the whole to its parts), and such definition is essential to true knowledge. After allusion to the causes of skepticism, there are said to be in speech the thing, the conception, and the name. The latter is reduced by grammar to its elementary letters. Of conceptions and things philosophy treats, under the ten categories. Causes are primary, efficient, coöperative, and *sine qua non*.

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE "MISCELLANIES."

1. "He did not immediately reveal to the many what was not intended for the many; but to a few only, to whom he knew it to be suited, who were capable of receiving it and being molded according to it. But hidden things, as it is with God, are committed to speech, not to writing." (Book I, chap. 1.)

2. "For, like husbandmen watering the earth beforehand, we water with a stream from the learning of the Greek what is earthy in these [writings]; so that it may receive the spiritual seed cast into it, and may be able easily to nourish it. The 'Miscellanies' will contain the truth mixed up with the doctrines of philosophy, or rather covered over and hidden, as the eatable part of a nut by the shell; for the seeds of the truth ought, I think, to be kept solely for the husbandman of the faith. I am not

oblivious of the babbling of some who, timid in their ignorance, say that we ought to occupy ourselves with what is most necessary and contains the faith, and to pass by what is without and superfluous, which wears us out uselessly, and detains us over things which conduce in no way to the end. Some also think that philosophy was introduced into life through evil for the ruin of men, by an evil inventor. But that evil has an evil nature, and can not turn into the producer of anything good, I shall show throughout the whole of these 'Miscellanies.'"  
(Book I, chap. 1.)

3. "For God is the cause of all that is good: of some immediately, as of the old covenant and the new, and of some by consequence, as of philosophy. Perhaps it was even given immediately to the Greeks, before the Lord called the Greeks; for this was a school-master to bring the Hellenic mind to Christ, as the law was to the Hebrews. Philosophy, therefore, was preparatory, paving the way to Him who was perfected in Christ." (Book I, chap. 5.)

4. "While God has made us by nature social and just, it must not therefore be said that justice is from constitution alone; but the constitutional goodness must be conceived of as stimulated by the commandment, the soul being instructed by discipline willingly to choose the best." (Book I, chap. 6.)

5. ". . . . The Ruler of all, a being difficult to seize upon and comprehend, receding continually and keeping afar off from him who pursues. But, wonder ineffable! he who is afar off has come very nigh." (Book II, chap. 2.)

6. "For the good man wants but little, being on the boundary between a mortal and an immortal nature; having wants both by reason of his body and of his very birth, but taught by rational self-control to want few things." (Book II, chap. 18.)

7. "Some, according to the apostle, 'confess that they know God, but in works they deny him, being abominable and disobedient, and to every good work reprobate.' Still, these, if they make this confession alone, will have done one good work at the end. Their witness, then, is the cleansing away of sin by glory." (Book IV, chap. 9.)

8. "If it be supposed, then, that one should propose to the gnostic whether he would prefer the knowledge of God or everlasting salvation, and these things were separable, which are in every way the same, without any doubting, he would choose the knowledge of God; judging that characteristic of the faith which ascends from love to knowledge to be desirable for its own sake." (Book IV, chap. 22.)

9. "So that when he says, 'Around the King of all are all things; on his account are all things; and that is the cause of all good things; and the second around the second; and the third around the third,' I do not understand otherwise than that the Holy Trinity is meant. For the third is the Holy Spirit; and the Son is the second, by whom all things were made according to the will of the Father." (Book V, chap. 14.)

10. "If, then, the Lord went down to Hades for nothing else but to preach the gospel, as he did go down, it was either to preach the gospel to all or to the Hebrews only. If, therefore, it was to all, all who believe will be saved, although they chance to be of the Gentiles, on making their profession there. . . . Thus I deem it proved that, the God being good and the Lord powerful, they save with righteousness and impartiality those who turn about, whether here or elsewhere. For not here alone is the active power [of God] beforehand, but everywhere and always it is at work. . . . And it were not a work of arrogance for those who departed be-

fore the coming of the Lord—not having the gospel preached to them, and not having any cause, outside themselves, for believing or not—to share in salvation or punishment. For it is not indeed right for those to be condemned unjudged, and for such only as followed the advent to have the advantage of the divine righteousness.” (Book VI, chap. 6.)

11. “Therefore our believer, divesting himself of passions through severe discipline, goes to a better mansion than the former—to the greatest torment, taking with him the characteristic of repentance of the sins which he has committed after baptism. He is then tortured still more, not yet and not wholly possessing what he sees others to have received. He is furthermore ashamed of his wrong doings. The greatest torments indeed are the portion of the believer. For God’s righteousness is good, and his goodness is righteous. And, although punishments cease as the expiation and purification of each is completed, they have very great and permanent grief who are found worthy of the other fold, which results from their not being with those who are glorified through righteousness.” (Book VI, chap. 14.)

12. “When then one who is upright in heart, as well as thankful, seeks through prayer, he somehow coöperates in its attainment, in that he gladly lays hold in prayer upon the thing desired. For when the Giver of good things perceives the susceptibility on our part, all good follows at once upon its conception. Truly, in prayer the character is tested, how it stands with respect to duty.” (Book VII, chap. 7.)

13. “Whatsoever then he has in mind, he bears it also on his tongue to those who are worthy to hear, both speaking and living from assent and inclination. For he thinks, and at the same time speaks, the truth; unless at any time in the way of medi-



cine, like a physician to the sick, for the safety of those who are ill, he shall lie or speak an untruth, according to the Sophists." (Book VII, chap. 9.)

14. "Faith then is, so to speak, the concise knowledge of the essentials; and knowledge is the demonstration, strong and sure, of what is received through faith, built upon faith by the Lord's teaching, carrying [the soul] through to what is infallible and scientifically comprehensible. And the first saving change seems to me to be from heathenism to faith, as I said before; and the second from faith to knowledge. And the latter, terminating in love, thenceforward gives the loving to the loved, that which knows to that which is known." (Book VII, chap. 10.)

15. "So striving, then, to come to the summit of knowledge, adorned in character, calm of mien, having all those advantages which belong to the true gnostic, looking away to fair models—the many patriarchs who before him have lived rightly, and very many prophets, and angels innumerable by us, and, above all, the Lord who taught and showed it to be possible to attain that highest life—on this account he loves not all the beautiful things of the world, which are at hand, that he may not remain on the ground, but things hoped for, rather already known, being hoped for unto the attaining. Thus, then, he endures toils and trials and afflictions, not, as the manly ones among the philosophers, in the hope of present trouble ceasing and of sharing again in what is pleasant; but knowledge has inspired in him the firmest persuasion of receiving the hopes of the future. Wherefore he despises not only the chastisements of the present, but also all its pleasures." (Book VII, chap. 11.)

16. "Our gnostic alone then, having grown old in the Scriptures, preserving the apostolic and ecclesiastical orthodoxy in doctrines, lives most correctly

according to the Gospel, and finds out from the law and the prophets proofs for which he may have sought, being sent forth by the Lord. For the life of the gnostic, I think, is nothing else than works and words in conformity with the tradition of the Lord." (Book VII, chap. 16.)

### HYMN TO CHRIST THE SAVIOUR.

*[A word-for-word rendering of the original.]*

Bridle of colts unbroken ;	O way celestial ;
Wing of birds unwandering ;	Word everlasting ;
Helm of ships, trusty ;	Age unapproachable ;
Shepherd of lambs royal :	Light eternal ;
Thy simple	Of mercy thou Fountain ;
Children assemble	Doer of righteousness :
To praise holily,	Sweet the life
To hymn guilelessly,	Of the God-hymning, O Christ
With innocent mouths,	Jesus !
The children's Leader, Christ.	O Milk celestial
O King of saints ;	Of the breasts enchanting
Word all-subduing	Of the Bride's graces,
Of the Father most high ;	By wisdom thine own pressed
Of wisdom thou Ruler ;	out !
Support of sorrows,	Babes
Rejoicing in eternity ;	With tender mouths,
Of the human race	Nourished
Thou Saviour, Jesus ;	By breast intellectual,
Shepherd, Husbandman,	With spirit dewy
Helm, Bridle,	Filled full :
Wing celestial	Praises simple,
Of the all-holy flock ;	Hymns sincere,
Fisher of men	To the King, Christ,
Who are saved ;	As a fee approved
From billows hateful	For life teachings,
Of a sea of evil,	Let us sing together.
Fishes chaste	Let us sing with simplicity
With sweet life enticing :	The Child who is mighty.
Be thou Leader, of sheep	A choir of peace ;
Rational thou Shepherd.	The Christ-begotten ;
O holy One, be the Leader—	A people chaste ;
O King !—of children un-	Chant we together the God of
harm'd,	peace !
In the footsteps of Christ.	

## ORIGEN.

ORIGEN, the Theologian, was the greatest Christian mind of the ante-Nicene age; and only in Augustine, if indeed in him, had he his equal in the entire early church. His father, a Christian of Alexandria, having died a martyr when Origen was a boy of eighteen, he supported his mother and brothers by his labors in philology. As earnest in his Christianity as he was profound in his scholarship, he was soon inducted into the office of catechist in the Christian school of Alexandria. While a catechist, he attended the lectures of the Neoplatonist Ammonius Saccas, and thus fitted himself to guide pagans as well as Christians in their study of the Scriptures. Pupils soon came to him in great numbers, so that he gave over the ordinary duties of the catechetical school and devoted himself to leading the more advanced scholars, through the entire domain of Greek culture, up to a right understanding of the Scripture and of the Christian faith. Thus he initiated a liberal and scientific Christian education. He was successful in winning not only philosophers, but also heretics, into the church, and particularly those gnostics who had turned from the traditional faith because of the narrow and crude form in which it had been presented to them. Among these converts was one Ambrosius, a wealthy man, whose munificence enabled Origen to carry on his learned researches. He furnished him with rare manuscripts, and with scribes and copyists, whom he kept so constantly

employed that his works seemed those of a great school rather than of one man. Rufinus declares that they exceeded six thousand, which number, though much exaggerated, suggests a productiveness which was marvelous. But the attention paid to so zealous a scholar awakened the jealousy of his bishop, Demetrius ; and this feeling was heightened when, on a journey, Origen was ordained a presbyter by Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem. Demetrius now convened a synod, which deposed Origen from his rank as presbyter, and, on the charge of heresy, forbade him to teach in Alexandria. The great scholar therefore withdrew, A. D. 232, to Cæsarea, where most of his after life was spent. Here, as at Alexandria, he became the center of a learned circle, whose influence was felt long after his death. The personal quarrel in which Demetrius had engaged with him now led to the rise of parties in the church, in which Palestine, Arabia, Phœnicia, and Achaia sided with Origen, and Rome and the dominant party at Alexandria against him. The chief thing to be remembered in connection with these divisions is the forgiving spirit with which Origen uniformly spoke of his enemies. Although branded as a heretic, he was greatly revered in large sections of the church. Repeatedly he was invited to foreign cities to take part in councils for composing differences in churches, or for settling matters of faith. At one such council, his opponent, Beryllus, was not only convinced by his reasoning, but even addressed him a letter of thanks for winning him back from error. Having suffered severely in the Decian per-

secution, Origen died A. D. 254, at the age of seventy years.

Of his works that have survived, the most important are the "De Principiis," which confessedly contain many opinions which he retracted before his death; his book "Against Celsus," a most valuable apologetical work; numerous commentaries and homilies on the Old and New Testaments; and part of the "Hexapla," a critical edition of the Old Testament—giving in six parallel columns as many different texts in Greek and Hebrew—a work which cost him twenty-eight years of labor. The large comparative space which we have given to the works "De Principiis" and "Against Celsus" will enable the reader to get some adequate idea of their contents.

## WRITINGS OF ORIGEN.

### ORIGEN DE PRINCIPIIS.

*Preface.*—The truth which incites men to good and happy lives is derived from no other source than Christ, either speaking through Moses and the prophets or in the flesh. Differences of opinion obtain, but the true opinion is that which has been transmitted in orderly succession from the apostles. This teaching is clear concerning God, Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit.<sup>1</sup> Concerning the soul, it affirms that it is destined "either to obtain an inheritance of eternal life and blessedness . . . or to be delivered over to eternal fire and punishment"; that there is to be a resurrection, when this body, "now sown in corruption, shall rise in incorruption"; that every rational soul is possessed of free will and volition, and has a struggle to maintain with the

devil and his angels. Just what these opposing beings are has not been fully explained. The world, it is taught, began to exist in time, and will be destroyed on account of wickedness; but what is before or after is unknown to the many. The Scriptures, written by the Spirit of God, have an open meaning, and a hidden one, known only to those on whom the grace of the Holy Spirit is bestowed. Making use of these elements, one body of doctrine is to be elaborated by argument and illustration.

*Book One.*—God, being called “Light,” is not corporeal, like the light of the sun; called “a consuming fire,” consumes not wood, but evil thoughts. He is called a Spirit as opposed to anything gross and material. He is incomprehensible by us as the light of the sun to one unable to bear the flame of the smallest lamp. He is the Mind from which all intellectual nature has its beginning, which Mind does not require space in which to carry on its operations; and yet, as there is a certain substance behind each sense—e. g., sound behind hearing—so is there substantial being behind these operations.

In Christ we note a distinction between his nature as the Only-Begotten and his human nature assumed for a purpose. Calling him the “Wisdom” of God, we do not mean anything impersonal, but a being generated before any conceivable beginning, and in manner such that no human mind may comprehend “how the unbegotten God is made the Father of the only-begotten Son.” So is he also the “Word” of God, revealing all things known to God’s creatures; the “Truth” and “Life” of all that exist, and the “Way” to God. He is the “invisible image” of God; the brightness of the Father’s glory softened to the frail eyes of mortals; the breath of the power of God; the stainless mirror of the working of God; the image of his goodness. The Father being omnipotent through wisdom, the

omnipotence of the Father and of the Son is the same. So also is the goodness of the Father identical with that of the Son.

The Holy Spirit is the power who alone has made possible a true knowledge of the Son of God. Of the existence of the Holy Spirit no one could have a suspicion but for the Scriptures. He is of such dignity that saving baptism is not complete except by joining to the Father and the Son the name of the Holy Spirit. The Scriptures never speak of him as created, not even as they speak of the divine Wisdom. The working of the Father and the Son occurs in all creation, saints and sinners (knowledge of good and evil being taught by the Word), rational and dumb, animate and inanimate; but the operation of the Holy Spirit takes place in those persons only who are in the way which leads to Jesus Christ and who abide in God. Here is seen the reason why sin against the Holy Ghost is not forgiven. Sinning against the Word or Reason, one relapses into ignorance; but sin against the Holy Spirit is true blasphemy. Because the Spirit abides upon saints alone, his dignity is not greater than that of the Father and the Son: nothing in the Trinity can be called greater or less. From the Father is existence; from the Son, rationality; from the Holy Spirit, holiness.

Rational natures include holy and malignant beings, and also those which occupy an intermediate position. Every such being which transgresses its laws falls into sin and is deserving of censure. This is true of the devil and his angels. The virtue of the good is not theirs by essential being—this is only true of God—nor is the spiritual sway which they exercise, but through choice and desert. Proofs of the fall of holy beings from purity to sin are given in Ezek. xxviii, 11-19, Isa. xiv, 12-22, and Luke x, 18. Good and evil being acci-

dents, not essentials of our nature, a man may so descend as to become an "opposing power."

On the end of all things the author says he speaks not with dogmatic certainty, as "when speaking of the Trinity." Save only to the dogmatism of prejudice, his views, he claims, are not out of accord with the faith of the church. The end is to come when all will be subject to Christ; or, as the author thinks, will be saved.<sup>2</sup> This end will be as the beginning, in which some obtained the rank of angels, others that of influences, principalities, etc., all being conferred according to the merit of the receivers. We who have receded from that primal state of blessedness are not irrecoverably removed; and this order of the human race has been instituted in order, by its course of discipline, to restore the lost unity. The devils proved themselves so unworthy that they were not admitted to the training of the earth. Whether they will ever be recovered to righteousness, or "whether persisting and inveterate wickedness may be changed by the power of habit into nature," is to be judged by the reader in the light of the fact that "that part [of creation] is not to be wholly at variance from the final unity and fitness." Meantime they will all pass through a suitable course of training, and endure for ages appropriate and severe punishment. Material substances will not cease to be, but a change will pass upon them. No intelligence save God is able to exist without some sort of bodily adjunct.

Souls are incorporeal. The heavenly bodies may be designated as living beings; and from human analogy it is probable that the spirit was implanted in them from without.

The angels hold their ranks and offices in virtue of services rendered before the world began, and because of the merits, mental vigor, etc., of each. Thus God is not partial in his bestowments. So



also the positions of the "opposing powers" are taken by desert. Men by desert may become angelic; they can not descend into irrationality, but they may, and indeed angels may, become demons, and *vice versa*.\*

*Book Two.*—The great wisdom of God enables him to arrange that all rational creatures, with their differing motion, shall work toward the same great end in which their salvation is insured, without impairing their freedom. The world may be regarded as some huge animal kept together by the power of God as by one soul.

Since only the Trinity can exist in a wholly incorporeal state, we may expect that, in its finer form, this material substance will continue to exist in the splendor of celestial bodies.

Was there, it is asked, any world before this, like it or different? or was there a condition like that when the kingdom shall have been delivered up to God the Father? which, however, may have been preceded by another world. Also, will there be hereafter any system of preservation and amendment, completing the training of this life, after which the end of all things will come? and will there then be another world resembling or different from the present? or will there some time be no world? If several worlds, will one ever exactly resemble another? This last supposition is hardly possible. This age is the consummation of many ages, and in this alone did Christ die (Heb. ix, 26.) It will be followed by other ages (Eph. ii, 7). Readers may choose between these suppositions as to the end of all things.

The Scriptures and the Lord's own words prove that the God of the law and the prophets is one with the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

\* This last from a translation by Jerome, in Ep. to Avitus.

The justice and goodness of God are in no wise incompatible, as say the heretics. The Old Testament calls God merciful, and the gospels call him just.

We are lost in amazement that the very Word and Wisdom of God, in whom all things were created, should have divested himself of his majesty; and that he could have existed within the limits of the man Jesus, becoming an infant, and suffering death. The Only-Begotten has conveyed a share of himself to all his creatures in proportion to the love which they have for him; but that soul concerning which Jesus said, "No one taketh it from me," inhering indissolubly in him, and receiving him wholly and passing into his light, was made with him in a preëminent degree one spirit. This soul was the necessary intermediary between God and the flesh. This indissoluble union with God was received as a reward of the virtues of the soul (Ps. xlv, 7); in which custom had changed what was once an election of righteousness into nature, so that the soul of Christ existed without possibility of sin.

The Holy Spirit is called by our Lord the Paraclete. Every rational creature, without distinction, may receive a share of him; though his chief advent among men has been subsequent to the ascension of Christ, since which multitudes have received the gift of the Spirit, who has become to each just what he needed—wisdom, faith, knowledge, etc. Some conceive of him as a common spirit, in a way unworthy of his divinity; but of such majesty is he that the apostles could not go forth until he had descended on them. He teaches truths which it is unlawful (that is, impossible) to utter. He is the Consoler, as distinguished from the Saviour's office (as Paraclete, I Jno. ii, 1) of Advocate.

There are souls (*animæ*), which are perceptive and impulsive, in all beings, from things in the waters up to God; though there is a difficulty of thought as to the soul of God. Paul speaks of a kind of soul-man, to whom things of the Spirit are foolishness, and in contradistinction to the soul, thus obtuse, of the understanding (*mens*), with which the man sings and prays. If the soul, then, neither sings nor prays, how can it be saved? (I Pet. i, 9). Possibly, it may be answered, the soul was so called before it fell, and so, being saved, retains its appropriate name. Still the "soul" is not praised in Scripture. "Return unto thy rest, O my soul," means, Return to the condition of understanding.

God created at the beginning a definite number of rational beings, and a material body sufficient for the adorning of the world. To the understandings of these intelligences God gave free action, by which good could be made their own. By failure actively to choose the good, some positively chose evil, and so came variety. In the world are super-celestial beings, placed in happier abodes and clothed in resplendent bodies, and who differ in glory; there are also earthly creatures, men who differ in condition; and there are again lower powers, among whom is diversity. These all were created by Christ, the diversities having come from their own choice. Thus positions taken here at birth—e. g., Jacob's—are based upon ante-natal preferences. As at the judgment there will be a distribution of souls, so there has been before a similar assignment.

What rises at the resurrection is a spiritual body. The differences among these bodies are illustrated, in the case of saints, by the differences between the glory of the heavenly bodies; in the case of sinners, by the various kinds of flesh. But we are not to think that bodies of flesh and blood, with the passions of the senses, but rather that incorruptible

bodies, will be given even to those who are destined to eternal fire. Each will be punished in his own fire, his sins the fuel, and the consciousness of evil committed the torture;<sup>3</sup> which torture will ultimately cease and restoration will be effected.

As to promises, we are not to expect that the earthly city of Jerusalem will be rebuilt, and that the saints will then literally eat and drink and reign as kings. We shall eat and drink, but it will be of the bread of life and the cup of divine wisdom. God has implanted in our minds a desire to know the truth of God and the causes of things, and this desire will be gratified. Departing this life, the saints will remain in paradise, a place situated upon earth, as in a class-room or school of souls, until they know about all things on earth. The more advanced they are, the more quickly will they ascend thence to a place in the air, and pass through the spheres or heavens, the many mansions, learning in each what is done there and why it is done.

*Book Three.*—The question regarding the freedom of the will is of all most necessary. In animate beings a phantasy springing up incites to effort, the nature of which phantasy determines the kind of action—for example, that the spider shall weave and the bee make wax. Rational animals have, in addition, reason, which approves or disapproves these phantasies. The instinctive faculty varies greatly, in some animals approaching to reason. For the amount of this kind of power which we have, we are not responsible; only for the rational use which we make of the same. For no external causes are so strong as to compel us to do wrong. The freedom of the will is proved by passages like Mic. vi, 8; Deut. xxx, 15, 16, 19; Isa. i, 19, 20; Ps. lxxx, 13, 14; Matt. v, 22, 39; vii, 24, 26; xxv, 34, 35; Rom. ii, 4–10. But the objector cites Ex. iv, 21; Ezek. xi, 19, 20; Mk. iv, 12; Rom. ix, 16,

20, 21, etc. As to the claim that Ex. iv, 21, proves a ruined nature, incapable of good, it may be said that Pharaoh was capable of good; else why the need of God's using on him hardening influences? God, having no part in wickedness, could not have caused Pharaoh's disobedience. We must rather reflect that rain causes the growth either of good fruit or of thorns, according to the seed; that the same sun liquefies wax and dries up mud. So the mighty works of God, while hardening Pharaoh's heart, softened the hearts of the "mixed multitudes" of Egypt. Upon Isa. lxiii, 17, 18, and Jer. xx, 7, it is said that God leaves the greater part of men unpunished in the midst of evil until they find out their own nature and the grace of God, and see that benefits received are from heaven and not of themselves, since God governs souls with reference not to fifty years, but to an illimitable age.<sup>4</sup> He was not done with Pharaoh when the monarch was drowned. The stony heart is taken away from a man only by the consent of his own will. It may occur that it would not be best for a soul thus to consent until after a longer experience; in which case, as with the Tyrians, mighty works leading to repentance are not wrought among them. Commenting on Rom. ix, 18-21, it is claimed that it must be so interpreted that the apostle will not contradict himself in praising or blaming men for good or evil deeds. It must be read also in connection with 2 Tim. ii, 20, 21, and one complete statement must be extracted from both passages.

Both the Old Testament and the New teach the existence of opposing powers—the devil, Satan, demons. Thus Paul, in Eph. vi, 12, shows that there are invisible enemies against which we fight. The initial elements of sin, however, are in our own natures, our natural passions, the indulgence of which gives admittance to these powers of evil, which then

seek to wreck us. All the temptations of life are meted out to us in proportion to our strength, and by the exercise of free will and diligence we can resist. Our thoughts, memories, etc., arise in part from within, but are in part prompted by the opposing powers, and also by God and the holy angels. These we are able to resist, whether good or evil, although to overcome the opposing powers we have need of divine help. Our wrestling against principalities and powers is not such as is taught in wrestling schools, but the struggle of the soul under losses and trials. We are to believe that nothing comes to man, not even temptations to evil, without God.

There is a wisdom (1) of this world, (2) of the princes of this world, and (3) of God. The first treats of grammar, poetry, etc.; the second, of Egyptian and Chaldean occult philosophy, or Greek opinions as to divine things. This latter wisdom, the princes of this world—spiritual powers to whom is assigned the care of certain nations—impart to men, being themselves deceived by the opposing powers. There are other spiritual energies who exercise sway among men, as in diviners. For as holy souls who devote themselves to God are endowed with a portion of divinity, so those placing themselves in the way of the opposing powers, by adopting their habits, receive from them power. Those who teach contrary to the church are probably inspired thereto by wicked and apostate powers. Since souls are from birth thus susceptible to spiritual influences, we must believe that elsewhere they have freely acted so as to cause this.

The severest temptation of men comes from the principalities and powers without. It is disputed whether we have two souls, one inferior; or whether contact with the body draws to evil; or whether we have one soul with both a rational and an irra-

tional element. In support of the first is adduced, with other passages, Gal. v, 17. When the inferior soul inclines to the flesh, men are carnal; when to the spirit, they are spiritual. It may be better for this soul even to incline to the flesh than to be guided by its own will; for thus, through satiety, it may come to yield itself to the spirit and be converted. Those who hold, on the other hand, to but one soul, say that our conflicts are but the conflicting judgments and emotions of the soul. As to heresies and envyings, which others say must be the work of the inferior soul, these say they are the work of the mind made gross through yielding to the flesh.

The world must, as Moses declared, have had its beginning at a certain time, for it is comprehensible. God was not inactive before this world was made, for there have been, as there will be, other worlds. The Scripture term *καταβολή* (Eph. i, 4) signifies properly "to cast down," in recognition of a descent of rational creatures from a higher to a lower condition, or the bringing down from the invisible to this visible world of those souls which were here to receive training, and those other beings who were to serve them. In these last days of the world there was needed a higher helper than men ever had before; and so came the Son of God, who became obedient unto the Father in the death of the cross. He will one day be subject to him who has put all things under him, that God may be all in all. This subjection being good and salutary, the subjection also of God's enemies is to be deemed salutary and useful, by which subjection is to be understood the salvation of the conquered and the restoration of the lost.

The highest good is to become as like to God as possible. This view, while propounded by philosophers, was derived from Holy Scripture. God,

proposing to create men in his image and likeness, gave the image at once, but the likeness was only to be acquired by diligence in the imitation of God. As God is incorporeal, we, to become like him, must also become incorporeal. Still, from the varying wills of rational creatures, diversity will recur, and matter will again exist, and bodies will be formed. The spiritual body, though so refined, may yet be derived from this present body. Of our two natures, the incorporeal changes in mind and purpose, the corporeal in substance. Bodily nature is at first to have an inheritance in a restored and purified earth, and is there to be prepared for heaven. At the final consummation, those who have come up into that land will be prepared by the Lord himself to come into that state unto which nothing can be added.

*Book Four.*—No other lawgivers save Moses and Jesus have had followers outside of their own nations; but they have followers everywhere. The power which the divine word has thus attained is proof of its divine origin. The authority of Scripture is also attested by the fulfillment of various Old Testament prophecies. If some parts of Scripture are not so apparently divine as others, this is proof that it is not a work of man's wisdom. From failure to interpret the Scriptures spiritually, the Jews are unbelievers, and heretics reject the God of the Old Testament. Our interpretation is that of those who "have the rule of the heavenly church of Jesus Christ, according to the succession of the apostles." This way is threefold: (1) of the flesh, or the obvious sense; (2) of the soul, edifying to those somewhat advanced; (3) of the Spirit, or the spiritual understanding by the perfect man. The object of the Spirit was to impart mysteries, in order that the wise may by study become participators in his counsel; and also to conceal these mysteries in



plain expressions suitable to the unlearned.<sup>6</sup> When the exact history could veil a spiritual teaching, it was followed; otherwise, other things were interwoven which could not or did not happen. So also in legislation, some things were introduced which were not useful in themselves. Thus there is need to "search the Scriptures" in order to their true understanding.

Summarizing now the teachings of this work, the Son was begotten out of the incorporeal as by an act of the will. The Son might not exist without the Father, as light can not exist without splendor; yet there never was a time when he was not the Son. In saying this, it must be remembered that all predications as to the Trinity transcend temporal and even eternal relations. The Word of God is in all intelligences, but more fully in the more holy. By him were all things created. In regard to the incarnate Son, we are not to think that all the majesty of his divinity was so compassed within his narrow body as not to operate elsewhere; and we are not to think that anything of divinity was wanting to Christ. With the soul assumed by Christ, God was so in union that he alone of all souls was incapable of sin. As to the manner of existence of this visible world, matter is not to be spoken of as uncreated, or without quality, or unchangeable. Nothing is not made but God; who, desiring to have those upon whom to confer benefits, created beings capable of receiving him in a worthy manner. These rational creatures, being changeable, had need of a bodily nature, which was accordingly created; and, since there will always be such rational natures, bodily nature must always exist as a covering for them. Since human souls participate in the nature of God, they must be immortal and eternal.

## EXTRACTS FROM "DE PRINCIPIIS."

I. "The form of those things which were clearly handed down by the preaching of the apostles is this :

"First, that there is one God, who created and arranged everything, and who, when nothing was, caused all things to be ; God from the first creation and foundation of the world, the God of all the just—Adam, Abel, Seth, Enos, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, the twelve patriarchs, Moses, and the prophets ; and that this God in the last days, as he had before promised by his prophets, sent our Lord Jesus Christ to call, first, Israel, and secondly, after the faithlessness of the people of Israel, the Gentiles. This just and good God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, himself gave the Law and the Prophets and the Gospels ; and he also is the God of the apostles and of the Old and New Testaments.

"Then, next, that Jesus Christ himself, who came, was born of the Father before all creation ; who, when he had served the Father in the creating of all things—'for by him were all things made'—in the last times, emptying himself, was made man incarnate, when he was God ; and being made man, he remained God, as he was. He assumed a body like our body, differing in this only, that it was born of a virgin and of the Holy Ghost. And since this Jesus Christ was in truth born and did suffer, and did not in appearance bear the death common to all, he was truly dead ; for he truly rose from the dead, and after the resurrection, having conversed with his disciples, was taken up.

"Then, next, they handed down that the Holy Spirit was associated in dignity with the Father and the Son." (Preface, 4.)

2. "The end and consummation of the world, then, will come, when each one will be subjected to punishment according to the merit of his sins; which time God only knows, when each shall suffer what he deserves. Unto one end, indeed, we think that the goodness of God, through his Christ, may recall the whole creation; even his enemies being conquered and subdued. For so speaks Holy Scripture: 'The Lord said to my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.' Which, if what the prophetic word here indicates is less plain to us, we learn from the Apostle Paul, who declares more plainly that 'Christ must reign until he has put all enemies under his feet.' Which, if not even this so plain saying of the apostle teaches us sufficiently what it is for enemies to be put under feet, hear him [say] again in the following: 'For all things must be put under him.' What then is the subjection which all subjects owe to Christ? I think it is the very same by which we also choose to be subjected to him; by which are subjected to him the apostles and all the holy who follow Christ. For the name of the subjection [that is, 'salvation'] by which we are subjected to Christ predicates of subjects the salvation which is from Christ, as David also declared: 'Shall not my soul be subject to God? For from him is my salvation.' " (I, vi, 1.)

3. "By these words (Isa. i, 11) it seems to be indicated that each one kindles for himself the flame of his sins, and is not plunged in another fire which has been previously kindled by another, or which existed before himself. Of this fire, the materials and food are our sins, which are called by the Apostle Paul wood and hay and stubble. And I think that, as in the body abundance of food and provisions contrary in quality and quantity generate fevers—fevers, too, differing in kind and duration

according to the measure in which the multiplied intemperance has supplied material and food for fevers; . . . so when the soul shall have gathered in itself a multitude of evil deeds and abundance of sins, at a suitable time all this collection of evils boils up to punishment, and is set on fire to chastisements; when the mind or conscience, by divine power retaining in memory all things of which when sinning it stamped upon itself certain signs and forms, will see set forth before its eyes a kind of history of each of its crimes which it has perpetrated foully and basely, or has committed impiously; then also the conscience is harassed and pierced by its own goads, and becomes its own accuser and witness. Which I think that even the Apostle Paul felt, when he said, 'Their thoughts mutually accusing or excusing them in the day when God will judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, according to my Gospel.' " (II, x, 4.)

4. "He, then, who is forsaken is left to the divine judgment; and God is long suffering with certain sinners, not without reason, but because it will be helpful to them, with respect to the immortality of the soul and the endless age, that they be not quickly brought to salvation, but be led to it more slowly after experiencing many evils. For, as physicians who are able to cure a person quickly, when they suspect a hidden poison to be about the body, perform the opposite of healing, doing this from the more earnest desire to heal, because they judge it better to keep him for a considerable time under inflammation and sickness, so that he may recover health more surely, than more quickly to seem to make him strong, afterward to turn him back, and [so to allow] the speedy healing to be only for a time; in the same way, God, knowing the secrets of the heart and foreseeing what will happen, mercifully permits [certain actions] at first, and by exter-

nal events draws out the hidden evil, for the cleansing of him who through indifference had contained seeds of evil, in order that he, having cast out that which was come to the surface, although far gone in evil, may then, being cleansed after his evil, be able to be set right. For God governs souls with reference not, permit me to say, to the fifty years of this life, but to the illimitable age." (III, i, 13.)

5. "Among matters which concern souls, . . . those [truths] which regard God and his Only-Begotten must be placed as primary, viz. : Of what nature he is, and in what manner he is the Son of God ; and what are the causes of his coming down into human flesh, and completely assuming humanity ; what also is the working of the Son, and unto whom it extends, and when. And there was urgent need to be brought to the words of the divine teachings concerning kindred and other rational beings, both the divine and those who have fallen from blessedness ; and the causes of their fall ; also concerning the distinction in souls, and whence these differences came ; and [as to] what the world is, and what is its origin. Thus it is necessary for us to learn whence is such and so great evil upon the earth ; and whether it is not simply upon the earth, but everywhere. Now, these and like [objects] being present to the Spirit who enlightens the souls of the holy ministers of the truth, there was a second object, in behalf of those who are not able to bear the labor of searching out such things, viz. : To conceal the truth about the forementioned things, in sayings which give a narration conveying an annunciation as to the visible creation, and the creation of man, and the descendants from the first man, in succession until they were many ; and in other histories which announce the [appropriate] deeds of the righteous, and the sins sometimes committed by these as men ; also the wicked deeds, both

of licentiousness and greed, of the lawless and ungodly. But, most remarkable, by the history of wars and conquerors and conquered, certain of the mysteries are explained to those who are able to test them. And, still more remarkable, the laws of truth are prophesied by the written legislation—all these being recorded serially with a power truly befitting the wisdom of God. For it was fixed that the dress also of spiritual things—I speak of the bodily part of the Scriptures—should not play a useless part in many cases, but should be able to make the multitude better, as they have the capacity.” (IV, i, 14.)

#### ORIGEN AGAINST CELSUS.

*Book One.*—In the preface Origen says that, although Christianity is its own defense, and is rather weakened by an attempted defense of man, he will comply with Ambrosius’s request and refute the work of Celsus, since some may be affected by it. In the first twenty-seven chapters various charges of Celsus himself are considered: among others, that the Christian miracles were works of sorcery; that Christianity is simply a blind faith, and that it despises wisdom; that the Jews, on whose faith Christianity is based, were not a learned people, and that the Hebrew shepherds were deluded into the belief in one God Almighty, of whom they knew nothing; and that the Jews worshiped angels and practiced witchcraft. It is also asked, How could Jesus himself in his few years have wrought his beneficent work, without divine assistance, this work being of such vast extent and reaching to all classes? Here a Jew is introduced as talking with Jesus, and accusing him of having invented his birth from a virgin, etc.<sup>1</sup> In replying to this, Origen shows that

this crucified Jesus, with every disadvantage, has influenced the world more than any general or philosopher; that it is not incredible that one should die for the world; and that "probably there is in the nature of things . . . such a constitution that one just man, dying voluntarily for the common good, makes a sacrifice which averts wicked spirits," the cause of calamities. But why does the Jew resort to a charge of adultery for the origin of Jesus, instead of making him the son of Joseph, if there is no ground for the gospel account? And how unworthy such a wicked origin for such a worker of all good! The Jew ignores the prophecy that the Messiah should be born of a virgin, the appropriateness and possibility of which birth is here shown. Would a magician teach, as did Jesus, the fear of God? The "True Discourse" of Celsus is shown to be wanting in method and order. The inappropriateness of a Jew's objecting to the vision of the Holy Ghost descending as a dove is suggested, and the truth of that event is said to be proved by the works of Jesus, and by those wrought even yet by his disciples. The physical heavens were not in reality parted; the nature of the vision was rather like that of the prophet's visions, there being needed therefor a certain divine perception. The Jew sets aside the strongest evidence in confirmation of the claims of Jesus, viz., that his coming was predicted by the Jewish prophets. Very unlike a Jew, he uses the expression, "But my prophet once said in Jerusalem that the Son of God will come, the Judge of the righteous and the Punisher of the wicked"; but he ignores the prophecies as to the place of Jesus' birth, as to the scepter not departing from Judah until he should come, and as to his sufferings and death. This last prophecy is shown not to be of the Jewish people, as the rabbis claim, but of an individual. The Jew has failed to notice that the

prophecies speak of two advents of Christ, one characterized by humility and suffering, one by glory, to which latter the forty-fifth Psalm refers. After contrasting Jesus with false claimants to the messiahship adduced by the Jew, the visit of the Magi, whom the Jew ignorantly calls Chaldeans, is considered. Philosophers have held that upon the occurrence of important events celestial bodies, like comets, appear. Much more, then, was it fitting that the advent of one who was to give a new doctrine to the race should be so signalized. The Magi, thwarted in their divinations by the heavenly presences which attended the birth of Christ, were led to seek him out by the prophecy of Balaam concerning the Star out of Jacob, preserved among themselves. The twelve disciples—not ten or eleven, as says Celsus—taught the truth by divine power, for they were unlearned men. Celsus believes everything in the Gospel which seems to make for his views, as, for example, Barnabas's statement that Jesus chose his disciples from wicked men; but he can not believe other statements. Why does he not allude to Paul, "the founder, after Jesus, of the churches that are in Christ"? These disciples of Jesus, it must be remembered, at once abandoned their wickedness, as have multitudes ever since, upon coming to Christ. The charges of the Jew that Jesus and his followers lived by importunity, and that it was necessary for him to flee into Egypt to avoid being killed, are answered. Contrary to the Jew, the works of Jesus in the establishment of his churches and in changing the characters of men are said to make good his claims. Objections to Jesus' human body, and to his eating, and speaking with a voice, if a God, are answered. Celsus's resort to calumnious abuse of Jesus, it is claimed, proves that he lacks the philosophic mind necessary to this examination.



*Book Two.*—Here are met the Jew's charges against Christian converts. They have forsaken, he says, the law of their fathers; or, basing their faith upon Judaism, they then despise it. In reply, Jesus' teachings and practices are cited. How should *we* have failed to recognize the Messiah, had he come? asks the Jew. How, it is answered, could we who preach righteousness, and to whom the divine power which was among you has been transferred, be ungodly? The desertion of Jesus by his followers is then discussed; also Jesus' predictions of his own and his followers' sufferings, and of the fall of Jerusalem. Jesus, it is claimed, did really suffer, and that willingly, having foreseen that his course would lead to such an end. The foreknowledge and prediction of the event, however, did not compel, and so did not excuse, his betrayer; nor did Jesus plot to make his follower a traitor. Celsus is charged with exaggerating Jesus' shrinking from suffering, and omitting his "Thy will be done." To the charge that the Christian accounts are not credible, it is answered that the writers might have omitted anything they chose, had their purpose only been to seem plausible. That some have falsified the gospels is no argument against those gospels. The Jew's charge that the prophecies would apply to a thousand other things as well as to Jesus is not a proper one for a Jew. Celsus ought rather to have examined each prophecy and answered it. Only animosity could prompt the saying of the Jew that "they [the prophets] did not predict such a pestilence." To the assertion that the advent of the Son of God should have been as obvious as the sun, the universal peace under Augustus and the notable occurrence at the crucifixion are cited. The crucifier of Jesus, Pilate, it is said, was not punished. No, but the Jewish people were. The absence of

vengeance, too, accords with our experience of Providence. Celsus omits the centurion's "This man was the Son of God." The Jews neither believe nor explain the prophecies of him who suffered for mankind.<sup>2</sup> Celsus, unphilosophically, fails to see that the preëminence of Christ is due to the preaching of salvation and a pure morality, which is now done in his name throughout the world. And after converting a multitude here—not "ten sailors and tax-gatherers" merely—Jesus went to the abode of spirits and converted such as were willing. If his disciples forsook him at his death, they afterward confessed him unto death. If, as Celsus charges, Christ's miracles were invented, we should be told of many raised from the dead instead of three persons. Christians to-day do greater works than Christ, the healing of the soul surpassing that of the body. To the Jew, Jesus is shown to be equally defensible with Moses. Jesus' resurrection is contrasted with assumed Greek analogies. The darkness at that event, it is claimed, is proved by Phlegon's testimony as to an eclipse; thus our evidence is not the mere fancies of dreamers. To the objection that he did not appear publicly to all, it is said that his nature was such that none could see him save those who received eyes capable of such sight. He did not guard himself from the sight of any, save as they were not fitted to behold him. His appearances were like those of God in the Old Testament. All the several parts of the event of his death and burial have a symbolic meaning. Our knowledge of God as one who leads the righteous to the light and punishes the wicked is from Jesus and his disciples. That he would not of necessity have been received if divine, is proved by the Jews' revolts from Jehovah. The charge that Jesus used denunciation is answered by citing the same thing in the

Old Testament and in Homer. That Jesus can not now be seen is no more an objection to the resurrection than the invisibility of God. Christ did not come in order that the Jews might not believe; but, when they did not believe, he through prophecy used the fact for the calling of the Gentiles. To the Jew's conclusion that Jesus was but a man, it is asked, How could a man in his own strength, and with so great opposition, have accomplished what he has accomplished?

*Book Three.*—Celsus, now in his own person, asserts that the ground of controversy between Jews and Christians is the mere "shadow of an ass." Is, then, the fulfillment of such prophecies in Christ so insignificant? If miracles are to be admitted among the Greeks, how much more among the chosen people of God! For the Hebrews were such a chosen people, and not revolting Egyptians. Nor were the Christians rebels against the Jewish State. The sacrifices made by the first Christians to win all must disprove the charge that they would not have all the world join them if they could. The existence of heresies no more invalidates Christianity than medicine or philosophy. Indeed, such were foretold by Paul. Ophites, however, are not Christians. That the existing union among Christians is not produced by a common fear is proved by the fact that they are not now persecuted. We teach no "terrors," save the punishment of the wicked, which Celsus admits. What analogy can there be between the Egyptian worship, which, in magnificent temples, honors a crocodile, and our worship of Jesus Christ, who brings benefit and salvation to the whole world? Nor do Christians repel wise men. Let those who are of Celsus's opinion examine the Epistles of Paul. There is indeed a higher esoteric teaching, delivered not to those without, but to advanced disciples only.

"This low jester Celsus, evidently feigning his belief in *Æsculapius*, *Hercules*, etc., out of fear of the charge of atheism, ascribes to the former healings and prophecies. But these are no title to reverence when unaccompanied by virtue. Let any neutral party judge between the acts of *Jesus* and those of *Aristeus*, for example, as to which was accomplishing some good purpose of Providence. The desire of *Jesus* was to commend himself as a divine and human Saviour."\* The favorable contrast of Christian assemblies and rulers with those of the cities is here noted. Such persons as *Abarris*, *Antinous*, etc., who conferred no benefit upon the race, are not to be once compared with *Jesus*. To the charge that we believe upon simple faith we say: True, we do have confidence in the artless words of the gospels, which contain no sophistry; but this faith produces in our minds just such a change in regard to idol-worship as common sense would produce. It is asked of us, If *Jesus*, laying aside his corruptible body, was a God, why was not *Æsculapius* the same? He did nothing to improve the character of men, and was himself not free from evil. Christians do not despise but esteem wisdom, but recognize a wisdom of God above the wisdom of the world. Wisdom is required of bishops. Milk, indeed, is suited to babes, and strong meat to men, yet we do call all to the Christian life. To the charge that employees in households seduce the women and children to their faith, but are silenced by the approach of the master and father, it is said that Christians do not draw any away from virtue or virtuous teachers, and are ready to teach before virtuous fathers. We invite sinners first to be cured, then to share in the mysteries, since wisdom will not enter the soul of the base. Celsus's charge that we say that God will not receive righteous men is malicious. None in-

deed are without sin, and Christ does not prefer a sinner over a righteous man, but the sinner who repents. Our assemblies, however, are composed chiefly of men who have not been grossly wicked. True, it is a difficult thing to change a man who is wicked by nature; but philosophical discourse does do this for a few, and Christianity does it for multitudes through the Word of God. To the assertion that no wise man accepts Christianity because the multitudes do, it is answered: Would you not then keep the laws? What "skilled physicians" do we, as we are charged, keep men from, when we say to men, not "Heed us," but "Heed God"? It is not so much "the wicked" who are won by the Gospel, as "the unpolished," who are influenced "through fear of what are called in the Word, 'everlasting punishments'"; "for the doctrine of punishment is both attended with utility and is agreeable to truth, and is stated in obscure terms with advantage." We no more deceive men with vain hopes than did Plato, and such a charge proves Celsus an Epicurean. Let him show us what "better things" we despise.

*Book Four.*—Instead of citing the prophecies, Celsus simply declares that the Christians' claim that a certain God or Son of God has come, and the Jews' claim that such a one will come, is a "most shameless assertion." Did he not know then, Celsus says, what was doing on earth? or was he unable to save without coming, that he descended to earth? He did know, and could have saved men, but not without destroying their free will. God did not at that time first bethink himself of blessing men; he has always blessed them. In the division of the nations (Deut. xxxii, 8, 9) Israel was assigned to the Lord, and so to that people came the prophets and then the Christ. To Celsus's charge that what we say of floods and conflagrations is a misunderstanding of Greek writings,

it is answered that Moses was more ancient than the Greeks. These events, we hold, do not come in conformity with planetary revolutions, but on account of the wickedness of men. Celsus taunts us with holding that God comes "like a torturer, bearing fire," thus compelling us to explain that the "fire" must be understood figuratively.<sup>4</sup> Celsus says that upon our view either God changed to a mortal, which was impossible, or he deceived by seeming to do this, which was not allowable, save as a medicine for the sick or as a defense against enemies. Now no sick man could be a friend of God that he should desire to heal him, and he has no enemies worthy of such efforts. The answer to this is, that the Word adapts himself to the wants of all classes of men, but does not in so doing prove false to his own nature. Moreover, he did come to heal those sick in soul, and so to reconcile the enemies of God. Why should Jewish and Christian ideas of one coming to purify the earth be absurd, when Plato taught the same of the gods? And why compare Jews and Christians to frogs and worms wrangling? If because of their inferiority to God, this holds of all men; if from their want of virtue, why not call wicked men of the Greeks frogs and worms? Besides, Christians are free from evil, which adheres even to apparent philosophers. Christians do not think that God abandoned heaven and despised the earth to devote himself exclusively to them; yet they claim to be made in God's image, and to become like him by virtue. The Jews, whose polity was changed to the Christian, were a nation of philosophers, and of great antiquity. The symbolical interpretation of our Scriptures is not to be denied to us when such explanations of everything difficult in the mythologies is allowed. Some of these allegorical interpretations—e. g., Philo's—would be acknowledged

even by the Greeks to be beautiful. Celsus reasons that "the soul is of God," but that "the nature of body is different"; and that in this respect "the body of a man differs in no wise from the body of a bat, . . . for the matter is the same." But, if this is so, then God is not the maker of the heavenly bodies, since they too are of matter. Besides, some bodies ought to be treated with more respect than others: why this, if all are alike? Celsus says that there have never been more or fewer evils, and that it is difficult for any but a philosopher to understand the origin of evil. Truly it is difficult, indeed impossible, even for a philosopher, to understand this, save by inspiration: it is needful to this end to learn about the devil and how he became such, and about demons. For evil is not from matter, but from mind. It may redound to the public good, but this does not excuse the evil-doer. To the charge that God threatens unbecomingly, it is said that God is speaking to men, and that the "wrath" of God involves no passion on his part. To Celsus's denial that the world was made for man, and his claim that there is no difference between men and ants, it is said that animals are not reflective. Man alone is made in the image of God; for Christians can not accept the Platonic idea that all souls are of the same species, whether in men or animals. That men augur the future from birds is no proof that birds foreknow events. If they did, it would not prove, as says Celsus, their knowledge of God. Nor are animals nearer to God than men, for only religious character, like that of Moses and the prophets, brings even men near to God. It is absurd, too, for Celsus to say that assemblies of birds are more sacred than gatherings of philosophers like Socrates and Plato. God is not angry with apes and flies; but upon man he does bring judgments.

*Book Five.*—Celsus's claim that "no God or Son of God has come down or will come down [to earth]" is contrary to the common opinion of mankind. Here, however, the reader must choose to reject either belief in God and in providence or Celsus's claims; for here he is convicted of being an Epicurean. Angels are not to be worshiped, but only the Supreme God through the Word; "for to invoke angels without having obtained a knowledge concerning them greater than is possessed by men were not reasonable." The Jews worship no creature whatever. To Celsus's charge that Christians hold that God, "as if he were a cook," will burn up all the world but themselves, it is said that the fire will be rather a purifying flame; and yet that the severe language of punishment is used deliberately, and with the purpose of winning simple minds through fear. The Christian doctrine of the resurrection is not, as Celsus supposes, that the actual corruptible flesh and blood of our bodies will rise, as is shown in 1 Corinthians. A certain power, however, is implanted in the body, which is not destroyed. To the argument that every nation should cling to its own ancestral laws, it is said that religion is an absolute duty, like the virtue of courage, etc., and so differences should not obtain. Besides, in the division of the nations, God retained the government of those who remained true to the original ideas; while the other nations received laws not themselves good, but tending to make them sated with sin, which, therefore, Christians reject. The law of nature—i. e., of God—should displace the written laws of the nations, if they come into conflict. The name of God is not a matter of indifference, as is proved by its use in incantations. Circumcision and abstinence from swine's flesh are not the same things to Jews and Egyptians. That God did signally favor the Jews



before Jesus came is proved by events in the reign of Alexander. This favor has since been transferred to the Christians, as appears from the fact that the Romans have not triumphed over them. Celsus says that, granting Jesus to be an angel, there were also other angels. But Jesus was more than an angel; none of these made effort for the conversion of the human race. Christians, as Celsus says, have the same Scripture history with the Jews; but Christians do not interpret the books in the same literal way with the Jews. Those who deny that the God of the Jews and of the Christians is the same, we repudiate as heretics; but this is nothing against us, for there are heretics in philosophy. Christians do not revile and hate one another on account of differences of opinion. Celsus, although declaring that we have no foundation for our doctrine, goes on to compare certain of our sayings with what he considers the more correct philosophic statement of the same principles, which, he says, we have not understood.

*Book Six.*—Those who love men should adapt their teachings not to philosophic minds alone, but to all men, as does Christianity. Thus, in discoursing of the "chief good," Plato's eloquent talk of the "light" did not influence men to righteousness, not even himself; but the Scripture teaching—e. g., Rom. i, 18-23—does so lead men. The Scriptures recognize the worth of the Socratic method of teaching, and the writers had wisdom revealed to them beyond what they wrote. Christians are not, as Celsus intimates, boastful, nor are they unwise, urging to inconsiderate belief. There are no conflicting claimants to be the Son of God and Saviour, Simon Magus and Dositheus being utter nonentities. Christians have not borrowed from Plato their ideas of the super-celestial God, but Plato borrowed from the Jews. Christians, after their troubles here,

expect to reach the highest heavens, there to be "ever intent upon the invisible things of God," seeing invisible things "face to face." The Christian idea of heaven is well set forth by Philo. A certain diagram commented on by Celsus as a Christian production is said by Origen to be known to himself, and is repudiated as an Ophitic work. Celsus claims to have seen in the hands of certain presbyters "barbarous books, containing the names and monstrous doings of demons"; and that "these presbyters of our faith professed nothing good, but all things to the injury of human beings." This charge is so palpably false that it refutes itself. Magic, although it may overcome philosophers, can not entrap praying Christians. Celsus misrepresents the Christian idea of the devil. The ancient teaching of this doctrine in the books of Moses and in Job proves that it can not be from a misunderstanding of the Greek stories of the wars of the gods. Satan was the first of the good spirits in whom iniquity was found; but every one who prefers vice is a Satan, i. e., an "adversary" to the Son of God, who is righteousness and truth and wisdom, which may be learned of the nature of evil from the prophecies. "It was fitting that God, knowing how to use rightly even those who in wickedness have apostatized, should collect evil-doers of this sort somewhere in the universe, and appoint a training school for virtue for those desiring to strive lawfully for its recovery." Such ideas were never dreamed of by Celsus. The doctrine of Antichrist—i. e., of a person who is the opposite of one who realizes the ideal given in Jesus—is not deserving of ridicule. It is set forth in the Scriptures in 2 Thes. ii, 1-12, and Dan. viii, 23-25 and ix, 27. The term "Son of God" was not derived from the heathen world. The whole church, consisting of believers, is animated by the Son of God,

and so the person of Jesus is not to be separated from the First-born of all creation. The Mosaic cosmogony is anything but "silly," as Celsus defines it. Christians do not regard God as the author of evil properly so called; but such a view would follow from the teachings of Celsus. Evils, in the sense of punishments designed for correction, God did create. To Celsus's question, "How is it that God is incapable of persuading men?" it is answered that the wills of men may resist. As to God's "repenting" of having made men, Origen denies such a Scripture statement. God rather "grieved." He did not put the men out of existence whom he removed by the deluge. Celsus misunderstands the meaning of God's "resting." We do not understand this term literally, nor do we affirm form, color, motion, or substance of God. But no Christian needs therefore to ask, "How then shall I know God?" as Celsus supposes. We know God through God the Word, and are saved by him. The sight of God, however, was not made easy by the incarnation save to the pure in heart. The expression, "God is a Spirit," Celsus has not understood. Our ideas of spirit are unlike those of the Stoics; we hold it to be invisible, incorporeal, and indestructible, and so can not entertain Celsus's objection that the Son of God was not immortal. Celsus's assertions as to the mean personal appearance of Christ are based on prophecies, which also speak of his glorious aspect. Moreover, Jesus did appear differently to men, according to their spiritual apprehension of him. The rays of the "Sun of righteousness" were sent forth into the souls of all who would receive; these are all, in a sense, "christs," that is, anointed ones. God was not, as intimated by Celsus, ignorant of what sufferings his Son would encounter.

*Book Seven.*—Saying that the prophecies are the

chief reliance of Christians as evidences, Celsus brings forward the Pythian and other oracles as equally deserving of regard. The prophets, it is answered, were inspired by the Holy Ghost; the Pythian priestess by demons, such as are cast out by the simplest of Christians. The prophets were themselves reverend characters, contrasting greatly with the priestesses of the oracles. None now utter prophecies save Christians, among whom the prophetic spirit still exists in a modified form. Celsus cites certain persons still in Palestine and Phœnicia who speak as if inspired, saying, "I am God," or, "I am the Divine Spirit," etc., and denouncing woes on those who do not receive them; but his references to them and their prophecies are too vague to serve as arguments against the real prophecy. As to the dark sayings in prophecy, it may be said that the Scriptures are not unintelligible, nor can any fool or impostor make them mean what he will. They contain nothing at all which is impure or shameful; nor did God do shameless deeds, or suffer shameless sufferings, or favor the commission of evil, as Celsus charges. The prophecies affirm the death, not of "the Life," but of the man Jesus. There is no conflict between the Old and the New Testaments, for the Old has a spiritual meaning. The spiritual and literal meanings, when seemingly contradictory, are not really so. Our idea of the "land" of rest to which we go at death was not borrowed from Plato or others, but was given by Moses. The "land flowing with milk and honey" is not to be identified with Judea, save in a figure, but with the heavenly land. Plato's fancy that the luster of precious stones was from a reflection of the stones of that better land seems to have been derived from Isaiah. The existence of real things corresponding to the common things in use among men is taught by Moses and the proph-

ets.<sup>5</sup> Our doctrine of the resurrection—"a high and difficult doctrine," teaching that there is a seminal principle lodged in what the Scripture speaks of as the "tabernacle" of the soul—is not derived from the idea of metempsychosis.<sup>6</sup> We do not consider it needful to have a body in order to see God; since to see God belongs to the pure in heart. For Celsus to make us defend an apprehension of God by the senses is an offense like that of Euripides in putting maxims from Anaxagoras into the mouth of a slave woman. The gods in human form, said by Celsus to be ever present at the oracles, are demons. If, as charged, the risen Christ was only a phantasm, whence comes his power? Celsus commends to us the "wise men and philosophers." Whom, for example, to our neglect of the Scriptures? If Plato, we prefer the teachings concerning God the Word, "who was made flesh" in order that to all men the truth might make speed, which [truth], Plato says, "could not, even being found out, be made known to all men." This knowledge of God is not to be attained by simple reasoning, but by the assistance of the grace of God. Celsus's reproaches of Christians are simple slanders, for even the unlearned among them live more purely than many philosophers; living not "with the body," but in the Spirit. To Celsus's question why we did not adopt a leader who died more worthily, e. g., Jonah or Daniel, answer is made by showing the dignity of Christ's silence and his words at his sufferings and death. It is no disparagement of Christian truths that certain of them were uttered by Plato—Scripture itself says, "Thine incorruptible Spirit is in all things"; and to utter these truths, as Scripture does, so as to feed the multitudes, is commendable. Such a plain and forcible presentation of truth is in no wise a corruption of it. Christians do not condemn the wor-

ship of images on the same ground with the Scythians and the Persians. When it is urged that men worship, not the image but that which it represents, we say we would avoid the appearance of worshipping images. Celsus claims that demons, if the gods be such, are the work of the Most High, and so should be worshiped. We reply that the wickedness of demons is not of God, but is opposed to him; and so we shun their worship, as we would avoid death. Still it is a grave question whether God may not have committed to them certain inferior departments of government.

*Book Eight.*—In remembering that "No man can serve two masters," and then refusing to worship demons, we are not, as charged, seditious. We refrain, from fear of injuring, not God, but ourselves. Celsus is challenged to show that the Most High has given to the gods the right to receive homage. This right has, however, been given to Christ, who is one with God, "the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person": hence we do not invalidate our position in worshipping him. Celsus quotes from a work of some "most obscure sect," called "A Heavenly Dialogue," to show that we make the Son of man superior to God. This book we repudiate. The Son rules, however, over all created things, though not in the fullest sense over things alienated from him. Our altars and statues are in our hearts. By imitating the Saviour, the most perfect image of God, we rear such statues. Our temples are our bodies, the chief temple having been the body of Christ, destroyed and reared again in three days. We do not refrain from building temples as a badge of a secret society. Our reason for not taking part in the public feasts is not that God is jealous, but that they are wrong. Allusion is here made to the Christian festivals.<sup>7</sup> Offerings to idols we hold to

be injurious, as is shown in 1 Corinthians. We have no cause to fear from demons, for the Lord appoints his angels to watch over us. To Celsus's claim that our principles should lead us to abstain from all animal food, we reply: No; both Jesus' words and the council at Jerusalem sanction the use of meats, save of such as are offered to idols, together with things strangled and blood. We abstain from flesh, not for the same reason as from crime, but lest harmless things may lead to harm; nor for the same reason as the Pythagoreans, from belief that souls of men may have entered the bodies of brutes, which is not true. We honor alone the reasonable soul, and its bodily organs we commit to the grave with due respect, never casting them out like the carcasses of brutes. Not demons, but good angels, preside over all things on earth, unless it be over frosts, blights, etc. We are subject only to the Most High, his angels being to us ministering spirits, and demons having power over us only as we are alienate from him. To a charge of Celsus, it is answered that "the Greeks use Greek names, the Romans Latin names, and thus every one prays and sings praises to God as he is able in his own dialect." Our doctrine of punishment is that each shall bear his own sins. God, who suffered the Jews to crucify Christ, did afterward punish them by destroying their city, though it was not out of revenge. Demons are overcome by the death of martyrs, and on this account persecutions have now ceased for a time, but will be resumed when this power is forgotten. Comparing the heathen oracles with the oracles of the Lord, it is said that the apostles, unlearned men, would hardly have forsaken the ways of their fathers but for a miraculous power conferred upon them as Christians. That heathen priests do teach "eternal punishment" is allowed; but do they so

teach this as to secure the great end of the doctrine, viz., the reformation of men? For us to abandon Christianity would be, beyond doubt, to abandon this idea of rewards and punishments, which Celsus himself commends. It is unbecoming in Celsus to cast aside without examination the doctrines concerning God of a people like the Jews. Celsus claims that the bodies of men are given over to "certain keepers of this prison-house." But whom do the gospels show to have had power over these keepers? We live righteously, unconcerned about demons, and anxious rather to show our gratitude to God. "As a symbol of gratitude to God, we have the bread which we call the Eucharist." So far from fearing demons, we have God in our favor, and also tens of thousands of angels, who even unasked pray for us, and with us.<sup>8</sup> We are not seditious toward kings, who are appointed of God; but we will not ingratiate ourselves by doing evil. To the inquiry as to what would happen should the Romans adopt Christianity, it is answered that, instead of becoming a prey to their enemies, they would overcome them all; or rather, they would not war at all, being guarded by divine power. Discussing the possibility of a universal dominion of the Word, it is said that the consummation of all things will be the destruction of evil, but whether so that it will not rise again can not be said.<sup>9</sup> Instead of fighting or taking office, Christians serve the state more effectively in the church, "another institution of the country founded by the Word of God." Celsus's "True Discourse" and this work must now be judged upon their respective merits.

*"Glory be to Thee, our God; Glory be to Thee."*



## EXTRACTS FROM ORIGEN AGAINST CELSUS.

1. . . . "And reproaches him 'with being born in a Jewish village, of a woman of the country, poor, and spinning for hire.' And says that 'she was put away by her husband, a carpenter by trade, being accused as an adulteress.' Then he says that, 'driven away by her husband, and wandering about dishonorably, she secretly gave birth to Jesus; and that he, having hired himself out in Egypt on account of poverty, and having there acquired certain powers on which the Egyptians pride themselves, returned, greatly elated over the powers, and on account of them he proclaimed himself a God.'" (I, 28.)

2. "For the benefit of mankind he underwent these things, having for the aim of his first advent, not the condemning of men's acts, before teaching and instructing [them] as to their duty, and not the punishing of the bad and the saving of the good, but the spreading of his truth in a marvelous way and with a certain divine power to the whole race of men, as the prophet also represented these things." (II, 38.)

3. "For both Jesus himself and his disciples not only desired that his followers should believe in his godhead and his miracles, . . . but they also saw that the power which had descended into human nature and into the midst of human miseries, and had assumed a human soul and body, through faith wrought together with the divine for the salvation of believers. They see that from him the human and the divine began to be woven together, in order that the human, by communion with the divine, might become divine, not only in Jesus, but in all who, besides believing, enter upon the life which Jesus taught, and which exalts to friendship

with God and communion with him every one living according to the teachings of Jesus." (III, 28.)

4. "The wicked man, accordingly, is said to build, upon the previously laid foundation of reason, wood, hay, stubble. If, then, it can be shown that these things were otherwise understood by the writer, and any one is able to prove that the wicked man literally builds wood, hay, stubble, evidently the fire, too, may be understood as material and sensible. But if, on the contrary, the works of the wicked man, said to be wood, hay, stubble, are spoken of figuratively, how does it not instantly occur to one in what sense the 'fire' is taken, in order that such 'wood' may be consumed? for, says [Scripture], 'The fire will try each man's work, of what sort it is.'" (IV, 13.)

5. "The most ancient teaching of Moses and the prophets recognizes that all things which are real are similar in name to things which are in common use. Thus there is the true light, and another heaven beyond the firmament; and the 'Sun of righteousness,' other than the visible [sun]. And in general, over against the sensible, of which nothing is real, it says, 'God, his works are truth'; placing the works of God by themselves, and those called the works of his hands as inferior." (VII, 31.)

6. "The soul, in its very nature incorporeal and invisible, coming into any corporeal place, has need of a body suited to the nature of that place; which accordingly it wears; having put off the once necessary but [now] superfluous one, as if for a second; and having put it on in addition to what it had before, needing a better covering for the pure and ethereal and heavenly places. And coming into the world at birth, it has put off that which was needful for the [existence] in the womb, so long as its place was there, and has put on in its stead

what is necessary for the present life upon earth. Then again, there being a certain 'tabernacle' and an 'earthly house' somehow needful to the tabernacle, Scripture teaches that the earthly house of this tabernacle shall be dissolved, but that the tabernacle shall 'be clothed upon with a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.'" (VII, 32.)

7. "But if any one should urge against us on this point our observances as to the Lord's day, the Preparation, the Passover, or Pentecost, the reply to this is that a perfect man who belongs always to his natural Lord, the Word of God, in thought, word, and deed, is always his in days, and is always keeping the Lord's day." . . . "But the larger and unadvanced part of the believers, since they are not willing or able thus to observe all days, have need of sensible memorials as a reminder, in order that they may not lose sight of the end. And I think that Paul had this in mind, when he designated the feast on days set apart from others as 'part of the feast.'"\* (VIII, 22, 23.)

8. "They"—all angels, souls, and spirits who are friends of God—"seek his favor [for them] and join in praying and supplicating: so that we say boldly that when men aspire after better things, praying to God, myriads of such sacred powers pray with them unasked." (VIII, 64.)

9. "We declare that the Word will some time subdue the whole rational creation and change every soul into his own perfection, in which each shall, in his own strength, desire what he will and shall have what he desires. And we say that it is not true that, as among wounds and diseases which come to bodies some are stronger than all medical skill, so among souls there are some unable to be cured of evil by the Supreme Word and God. For

\* *μέρει ἑορτῆς.* (Col. ii, 16.)

the Word and the healing power in him being stronger than every evil, he applies this by the will of God to every soul. And the end of all things is to destroy evil; but whether or not so that it will never be able anywhere to change, it is not for the present discourse to teach." (VIII, 72.)

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### GREGORY THAUMATURGUS.

GREGORY the Wonder-worker was born in Pontus in the second decade of the third century, of a family of wealth and position. While a young man, he and his brother traveled abroad, in the prosecution of their studies. They visited Alexandria, Athens, Berytus, and Cæsarea of Palestine, at which place he met with Origen, who so attracted him to himself that he gave up studying at the law school at Berytus, and instead studied for five years under this Christian teacher. Besides receiving instruction in all branches of secular learning, he was taught by him in Biblical science and Christian truth. Returning to Pontus, he was followed by a letter from Origen, urging him to the ministry, upon which he withdrew into the wilderness; but so fit did he seem for the office that the church of Neo-Cæsarea ordained him its bishop in his absence. Returning to his charge, he administered it so well that it was said that, in place of seventeen Christians in the city when he began, there were only seventeen pagans there when, about A. D. 270, he died. While under his care the church suf-

ferred much in the Decian persecution, and from the invasions of the barbarians. His surname, Thaumaturgus, came from the belief that he wrought many miracles. Besides his "Declaration of Faith," we have by him a "Metaphrase of Ecclesiastes," a "Panegyric on Origen," and a "Canonical Epistle."

#### A DECLARATION OF FAITH.

There is one God, the Father of the living Word, [his] subsistent wisdom and power and eternal image : perfect begetter of the perfect [begotten], Father of the only begotten Son.

There is one Lord, only of only, God of God, the image and likeness of the Godhead, efficient Word, wisdom comprehensive of the constitution of all things, and power which produces all creation ; true Son of the true Father, Invisible of Invisible, Incorruptible of Incorruptible and Immortal of Immortal, and Eternal of Eternal.

And there is one Holy Ghost, having his existence from God, and being manifested by the Son, namely, to men ; the perfect likeness of the perfect Son ; life, the cause of the living ; [sacred fount ;] sanctity, the leader of sanctification ; in whom is revealed God the Father, who is over all things and in all things, and God the Son, who is through all things : a perfect Trinity, in glory and eternity and sovereignty, neither divided nor estranged.

Neither, indeed, is there anything created or subservient in the Trinity, nor superinduced, as though not before existent, but introduced afterward ; nor, indeed, has the Son ever been wanting to the Father, nor the Spirit to the Son, but, unvarying and unchangeable, the same Trinity [subsists] for ever.

## OTHER GREEK WRITERS.

WHILE the works of the fathers named are the chief treasures of the Greek Christian writings of our period, a few other names deserve mention.

Caius, a presbyter of Rome early in the third century, has left a name as a writer; but, rejecting his conjectured authorship of the "Muratorian Fragment" and the "Little Labyrinth," we have none of his works.—A distinguished Christian of the age was Julius Africanus. Jerome relates that the city where he resided, Nicopolis in Palestine, once sent him on a mission to the Emperor Helio-gabalus. His chief work, a "Chronography" in five books, was the first Christian history of the world; only fragments of it are extant. We have from him a critical letter to Origen, questioning the scriptural authority of the story of Susanna; and a letter to Aristides on the genealogies of Matthew and Luke.—Not to be forgotten because of their brevity, are a few extracts from letters of Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, who was a prominent personage in the controversies over Origen.—Perhaps the most important Greek father of the age, after the five to whom special place has been given, was Dionysius of Alexandria, to whom Eusebius gives much prominence in his history. As a friend of Origen, and also Bishop of Alexandria, and the friend and correspondent of bishops of Rome, his influence was felt by all branches of the church. In the formation of his beliefs, he exercised great

freedom of inquiry. Remonstrated with for reading heretical writings, he declared that he had heard a voice from God, saying to him, "Read whatever falls into thy hands, for thou art capable of judging and proving all things; and from the first this has been to *thee* the occasion of faith." His Christian moderation also was very marked, and enabled him to compose differences among the churches. Though a prolific writer, only fragments of his works have come down to us. There are extracts from a "Treatise on the Promises," from his "Book on Nature," directed against the Epicureans, and from his "Book against Sabelius"; also certain exegetical fragments, and a number of epistles.

Before the middle of the third century, Gnosticism had accomplished its appointed work, and was no longer a power; but the third quarter of the century witnessed the rise of Manichæism, another so-called heresy, though it utterly disclaimed the Christian name, which was to continue in one and another form, down to the Reformation. Of the origin of Mani, its founder, we have conflicting accounts. Suffice it to say that he was a Chaldean or a Persian, and that his system was a blending of the dogmas of Magism with Buddhist views, under the garb of Biblical history. Prominent among its teachings was the Oriental dualism. It held that the Paraclete promised by Christ had appeared in Mani. Archelaus, a bishop in Mesopotamia, held a disputation with this heresiarch, A. D. 277; and he ranks among the authors of the age from his account of this dispu-

tation and of the origin of Mani.—Another writer upon Manichæism whose work has reached us, was Alexander, Bishop of Lycopolis, who before his conversion to Christianity was an adherent of that faith.

A writer toward the close of our period, remembered chiefly because he opposed the doctrines of a great man, was Methodius. Of his work against Origen, we have only extracts. His one complete writing extant is the “Banquet of the Ten Virgins,” a book celebrating the unmarried state in a style and language most distasteful to modern readers. Among other brief remains, we have by him a “Discourse on the Resurrection.” An extant dialogue on Free Will, ascribed to him, has also been referred to Maximus, an author of the age, mentioned by Eusebius.—Contemporary with and a little later than Methodius were two writers of Alexandria, both bishops of that city. The first, Peter, who died a martyr, A. D. 311, wrote certain canons on the position of the lapsed. Alexander, who lived until shortly after the Nicene Council, has transmitted to us some minor works, among them two epistles on the Arian heresy.

To complete the list for the period, we simply add the names of Asterius Urbanus, who wrote against the Montanists; the Alexandrian writers, Theognostus, Pierias, and Theonas; Malchion of Antioch; Anatolius, Bishop of Laodicea; Phileas, Macarius Magnus, and Pamphilus, Origen’s friend and apologist; all of whom have left inconsiderable remains.



Allusion should also be made to certain Ante-Nicene Syriac documents, which were discovered some decades since, in a monastery in Lower Egypt, and which preserve some interesting memorials of the introduction of Christianity into the region about the city of Edessa.

# LATIN WRITERS.

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## INTRODUCTION.

SPEAKING with some qualifications, the patristic church was Greek, as the primitive church had been Jewish, and the mediæval church was to be Latin. Its unity, like that of the Greek nation, was federative; each church, like each of the Grecian states, was a little commonwealth. As the Greece which resisted the Persians was one, not by any imperial organization, but by common ideas and a common love of liberty, so the church of the fathers was one, not by any organic connection, but by common thoughts and sympathies, above all by a common loyalty to Christ. Naturally the questions which agitated such a church were those which concern the individual soul rather than society. Its members made much of personal beliefs and speculative opinions; and, so long as the old free spirit lasted, they allowed one another large freedom of thought, only requiring that common instinct of loyalty to Christ. Happily for the world, that free spirit did not die out from the East for at least two centuries after Paul had proclaimed the

individual relationship of the soul to God. For, meantime, such thinkers as Justin and Irenæus, and Hippolytus and Clement, and, above all, Origen, within the church, and the better minds among the Gnostics outside the church, had so shown the breadth and adaptations of Christian truth that, when the time came for the iron bands of mediævalism to be broken, the world needed not to grope in the dark, but still found in Christianity a divine guidance.

But already, before that paralysis of the Greek mind which doomed the East to a dead orthodoxy, a division was appearing in the church of the fathers. Though still predominantly Greek, its western churches were beginning to assert something more than an individual freedom. Another type of mind was showing itself, which by and by was not only to cut loose from the Greek, but was to monopolize the aggressive power of Christianity, and pass the faith down to posterity to become the religion of the world. That coming spirit was Roman. At first the churches of the West were as much Greek as those of the East. Even in the church at Rome, so late as the early part of the third century, the speech, the government, and the writings were all Greek. The Christian communities were virtually, in some cases, as in southern Gaul, actually Greek colonies, and members of the great federative Christian body whose center was found in every church and in every believer's heart. But gradually the Latin elements assert themselves in the churches, and, as the old Greek spirit ceases to act upon them from the East, the

Roman spirit takes its place. The Latin type of Christianity which thus in time prevailed over the West, in place of a philosophic and speculative tone, took a more practical bent; instead of spending its energies discussing intricate problems of theology, which begin and end in the individual mind, it concerned itself about public morals, the well-being of society, and the actual powers and responsibilities and destiny of men. The genius of the Greek expressing itself in thought, of the Latin in ruling power, the Christianity which was to the former a body of truth, became to the latter a system of government. Since religions take on national traits by the influence upon them of leading minds who embody the national spirit, Christianity could assume a Latin type only as there appeared in the church superior minds saturated with the Roman spirit. For obvious reasons this new phase of Christianity was earliest developed, not in Rome, but in one of her provinces. The capital was now too cosmopolitan to throb with the old spirit; but in proconsular Africa, where Greek life had had but little influence, she had a dependency more Roman than herself. The governmental idea, therefore, which at the metropolis had to compete with many other ideas, had there complete sway. In Rome there were many measures of greatness. In Carthage nothing was great but the government, while every one connected therewith, from the proconsul down to the private soldier, possessed a certain dignity. Superiority, therefore, which in a resident of Rome might display itself in Greek or even in Asiatic directions, in a North African would be

sure to express itself in some form of governmental power. So it was that, while the leading mind of the Roman Church in this period, Hippolytus, was of the Greek type, the church of North Africa furnished to Christianity its first Latin leaders.

These were Tertullian and Cyprian. Both men were distinctively and intensely Roman. Together they gave to their faith its new stamp, and together they should ever stand as the leading founders of Latin Christianity. Neither alone can claim this distinction; their united claim none can dispute. The Roman idea, it should be considered, was, like the Greek, complex. As the intellectual type of mind displayed itself both in artistic perception and in reflective thought, so the governmental type displayed itself both in legal talents and in a genius for administration. As the Greek culture had been incomplete without either Phidias or Plato, the Roman power had not been itself lacking either Cicero or Cæsar. To impart to Christianity a complete Latin character, there was need of both a Tertullian and a Cyprian as founders, and of an Augustine and a Gregory as the two principal men of the Western Church.

Of the two founders, the earlier, Tertullian, had the more vigorous mind. With a sternness of nature becoming the son of a Roman centurion, he combined a fierceness of temper befitting his Punic birth. An advocate, conversant with the Roman law, possessing also a rich fund of knowledge, he lacked the thorough grammatical training of his successor. Notwithstanding this lack—perhaps in part because of it, since a thorough Greek

training might have cost him something of his native vigor of expression—he had for his task to create much of the language for those spiritual truths which were then new to the Latin tongue. He had also to formulate the requirements of Christianity upon the conduct of men in terms suited to that legal bias which characterized the Roman social and political fabric. The Montanistic ideas which he adopted, so far from unfitting him for this task, only seemed to intensify the Roman in his nature, and helped him to impress upon his work the true Latin stamp.

But upon the foundation of a regard for law, the Roman state had reared a vast political superstructure, which was now its most striking feature. Equally would Christianity, when once the legal foundations were laid, rear thereupon a political fabric, in time to become its most striking feature. To give this element there was needed, not the rude vigor and obscure position of a Tertullian, but the social leverage, the courtly habits, and the administrative genius of a Cyprian. Belonging to a patrician family, possessed of large wealth, having the instincts and the culture of the Roman gentleman, Cyprian, when converted and made Bishop of Carthage, had but to be himself to give the church the foundation of its hierarchical organization. He was accustomed to call Tertullian his master, and his master he was in the sense that the work of the presbyter necessarily preceded the work of the bishop; but we see little resemblance in the distinctive labors of the two men. The chair of the Bishop of Carthage becomes to Cyprian

not simply the seat of a pastor of that city; it is also the throne of the Christian proconsul, whose influence is felt to the bounds of the province. When persecution threatens, he no longer thinks of himself as an individual who may, if he chooses, assume the crown of martyrdom, but as the head of the church in that region, who must live for his charge as a general must live for his army. Diligent, faithful, self-sacrificing to secure the good of the humblest, he yet insists upon his prerogative as bishop in a way hitherto unknown. His presbyters are brought into a rigid subordination; no action of his clergy is to be final until ratified by himself; the other bishops of the province are made to feel that, if all bishops are equal, the Bishop of Carthage is at least *primus inter pares*. But as no proconsul thought of his province as other than a part of a great whole, whose center was on the banks of the Tiber, so Cyprian thought of the African Church as an integral part of the one universal Christian body; and to his Roman mind where else could be the center of a world-wide power if not at Rome? Still, the bishop was as devoutly Christian as he was staunchly Roman, and for what he deems the proper church government he seeks an apostolic constitution. This he finds ("Treatise on the Unity of the Church") in the charge to Peter—"I say unto thee that thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church"—and in the common tradition that the apostle thus honored was the first bishop of the church in Rome. As the successor of Peter, the bishop of the imperial city was to rank as *primus inter pares* with respect to all other bishops, and

so as the head of the church catholic. In a like manner the bishop of the governing city of a province was to be first among his episcopal brethren.

But this century saw more than one infringement upon the imperial constitution of the empire. Almost contemporary with the death of Cyprian came a crisis, when an unworthy Cæsar led the rulers of all the great provinces to aspire to the purple, and we see at one time so-called emperors in Africa and Gaul, and Egypt and Asia, as well as in Rome. So there came a time in Cyprian's short career when what he deemed unworthy administration at Rome led him to act side by side with the Roman bishop Stephen, as a head of the church. First, we find him writing (Epistle 66) to Stephen, telling him what it "behooves" him to do in the church at Arles; then we see him at the head of a council of North African bishops, receiving an appeal from certain churches in Spain, and sending to them instructions for the settlement of a difficulty, which are adverse to those before received from Rome; and then we have a letter from Cyprian to Stephen, informing him, "for the sake of our mutual honor and sincere affection," of what himself and his fellow-bishops in Africa had decreed with regard to an important matter of discipline. In thus exercising for the time a coequal authority with the Bishop of Rome, Cyprian did not forget the unity of the church. On the contrary, he claims to act as he does in the interest of unity, holding, with his correspondent Firmilian, Bishop of Cæsarea, that Stephen was belying his office as representative of that unity, and bringing in divisions.



But, as in the empire, so in the church, such subversions of order were only temporary, and Latin Christianity tended more and more to the idea of the one Catholic Church, with one head, as a universal regulative power centering at Rome. It is not claimed for Cyprian that he was the first to suggest this Latin conception, but he was its first champion; and his personal preëminence, his firm administration in his own province, his correspondence with churches from Spain to Syria, and his vigorous assertion of the unity of the church as finding expression in the apostle who became Bishop of Rome, all conspired to make him the founder of the ecclesiastical power of the West.

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## TERTULLIAN,

THE Christian Hannibal. Born about A. D. 150 at Carthage, the son of a centurion in the service of the proconsul, Tertullian had all the passionate intensity of the Punic, combined with the stern self-abnegation of the earlier Roman nature. What he loved received the tribute of his entire soul, and what he disliked he combated with the same *abandon*. As the son of Hamilcar had vowed eternal hatred to the Roman name, this Carthaginian would seem, upon becoming a Christian, to have vowed eternal hatred to whatever was anti-Christian. His conversion to Christianity took place in his mature life, and probably after a considera-

ble participation in the vices of heathenism. From Eusebius's information that he was well versed in Roman laws, as well as from the evidence of his own writings, we may reasonably believe that he was an advocate by profession. His mental character is thus summarized by Neander: "Tertullian's mind had acuteness, depth, and dialectic dexterity, but no logical clearness, repose, and arrangement; it was profound and fruitful, but not harmonious; the check of sober self-government was wanting." How soon after conversion he became a presbyter we do not know, but Jerome says that he remained a presbyter of the (Catholic) church until middle life, and was then driven by the envy and ill-treatment of the Roman clergy to embrace the opinions of Montanus. Whether from such external cause, or, as seems likely, from the natural bent of his mind, Tertullian did become a most zealous champion of the New Prophecy introduced by this self-styled Paraclete. Originating in Phrygia, a home of religious enthusiasm, this movement at first confined itself to rousing Christians generally to a more earnest religious life, such as becomes the presence with them of the Holy Ghost, whose fresh outpouring Montanus announced. In this work it found many friends in the church, particularly among those who were bravely enduring persecution, as in the case of the Christians of Vienne and Lyons. But Montanus's ideas of his mission became more exalted, until he claimed to be the Paraclete, the chosen organ of the Holy Ghost for the enlightenment of the church and the perfecting of Christianity. This led to the exclusion of Mon-

tanus and his followers from the communion of the church. But since, apart from these extravagant claims, the sect was thoroughly orthodox, and because, from the stress which it laid upon asceticism, upon scorn of persecution, and love of martyrdom, it was intensely antagonistic to the heathen world, it found in Tertullian a congenial mind. The great enemy of the faith at that time was a speculative gnosticism with which the practical Carthaginian, unlike the Alexandrian fathers, had not the remotest sympathy. Perhaps it was just because the Phrygian's claims of supernatural illumination made him the extremest opponent of the Gnostics that Tertullian became a disciple of Montanus.

As a writer, Tertullian was the first of the Latin fathers. His numerous works were well known and very highly esteemed in the church. Jerome relates that Cyprian had them read to him daily, and in asking for them was accustomed to say, "*Give me my master.*" The longest work was a treatise "Against Marcion," in five books. Other treatises were his "Apology," "On the Prescription of Heretics," "On the Soul," "Against Hermogenes," "Against Valentinian," "On the Body of Christ," "On the Resurrection of the Body," "Against Praxeas," and an address "To the Gentiles." Of these, the two first are the best known. All of these longer works, save the "Apology," "Prescription," and address "To the Gentiles" (a shorter form of the "Apology"), were written after the author became a Montanist; but, save in some minor particulars, their value is not thereby greatly lessened. Twenty-three shorter works have come

down to us, of which Neander concludes that eleven, viz., "To the Martyrs," "On the Spectacles," "On the Testimony of the Soul," "On Idolatry," "On Prayer," "On Patience," "On Baptism," "On Repentance," two "To his Wife," and two "On the Dress of Females," are pre-Montanistic; while the address "To Scapula," "On the Soldier's Chaplet," "On Flight in Persecution," "On the Scorpion's Bite," "Exhortation to Chastity," "On Monogamy," "On Modesty," "On Fasting," "On the Veiling of Virgins," "On the Ascetic's Mantle," and the "Answer to the Jews," are Montanistic works. Written in the Punic Latin, not calculated, like the Greek, to convey spiritual ideas, these works are often obscure in their phraseology, but often, too, strikingly original. The first writer of the Western Church, Tertullian displays at once that practical spirit which has led the West to forego pure theology in the discussion of anthropology and the doctrines of salvation. His testimony as to the faith and practices of the early church is especially prized, for the reason that he wrote at a period when Christianity had become a developed *cultus*, which had freely and spontaneously adapted apostolic methods to the wants of large and varied congregations of worshipers, and before these apostolic ways had been seriously infringed by the hierarchical movement of the third century. For example, the work upon baptism, while showing a liturgical advance from apostolic days, and not wholly free from the later idea of a magical efficacy in the water, yet gives valuable evidence as to early forms, as to the candidates for the rite, and as to

the primitive subordination of the outward observance to the faith of the believer.

Attention is called to the work "On the Prescription of Heretics," as perhaps the most characteristic writing of our author. Also to the closing passage of "On the Spectacles," as showing the passionate intensity and the not wholly sanctified fierceness of his nature. The work "Against Marcion" is important both on account of the prominent position held by that heretic (see "Apostolic Fathers," p. 127), and from the close connection which it traces between the Old and New Testaments.

The translations are made from Oehler's text.

## WORKS OF TERTULLIAN.

### ON THE SOUL.

Truth is to be learned, not from Socrates, but from God. The endless round of inquiries by the philosophers have been the sources of heresy. Contrary to Plato, the soul, which was formed by the breathing of God, has its creation at birth. As Zeno claimed, it is corporeal, as is proved by the gospels; for only as it is corporeal can it suffer, as it is said to suffer [Luke xvi], in hell. Such corporeity involves form and limitation—length, breadth, and height. A prophetic sister among us "who holds converse with angels, sometimes even with the Lord," testifies that "a soul has been shown to me in bodily shape, and a spirit has been wont to appear to me; not, however, a property void and empty, but such as would engage itself to be grasped by the hand, soft and transparent and of an ethereal color, and in every respect

human in form." The soul is simple in its nature [as opposed to the Greek dichotomy]. Spirit is one with it, not as its nature, but as an operation, just as the light is one with the day. Mind also coalesces with the soul, as being its natural function or agent whereby it acts, acquires knowledge, and is capable of spontaneous motion. The soul has no organic divisions, but simply faculties. It has a supreme directive faculty, which is enshrined in the heart. There are also to the soul two elements: the rational, originally implanted by God, and the irrational, coming by the suggestion of the devil, and which has since grown in and with the soul as something natural. The indignant and the appetitive faculties are not confined to the irrational soul; for they were exercised by Christ. The senses are not untrue, they as well as the intellect being functions of the soul. The intellect is coeval with the soul which "has been drawn out from Adam as its root into his posterity and propagated, . . . has sprouted into life with all its natural apparatus, both of intellect and of sense. The nature of the soul is not immutable; we have free wills, and God's grace exercised upon them may lead us to repentance." Heretical ideas of the soul are derived (Tertullian is sorry to say) from Plato. To him learning is but remembering things known in another state of existence—the *ideas* once shared by the soul with God—and now forgotten. Both physiology and Scripture oppose the doctrine that the body inhales the soul at birth. Instead, both soul and body are conceived and formed simultaneously—the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls is absurd, and profane heresies have sprung from it—and thus the sex of both is at once determined, neither body nor soul deriving its sex from the other. The forming process "is regulated by some power which ministers herein to

the divine will." "From birth onward also the soul and body are conjoined, and their growth to maturity coincides. An evil spirit cleaves to every individual from his very birth, ready to entrap his soul ; and, besides, since he has his nature in Adam until he is born again in Christ, there arises beforehand, from its corrupt origin, an evil of the soul which is in a certain sense natural."

Still there is good in the soul, that original, that divine and genuine good, which is its proper nature. For what is derived from God is not so much extinguished as obscured. It can, indeed, be obscured, because it is not God ; extinguished, however, it can not be, because it comes from God. Therefore, when the soul "embraces the faith, being removed through its second birth by water and the power from above, then, the veil of its former corruption being taken away, it beholds the light in all its brightness. It is even taken up by the Holy Spirit, just as in its first birth it is caught up by an unholy spirit. The flesh follows the soul wedded to the Spirit, as a part of the bridal portion, now no longer the servant of the soul, but of the Spirit." The soul separates from the body only at death. Whether easy or violent, death is unnatural, and is owing to sin, without which it would not have been. The entire soul remains with the body to the last vital act. Released by death, it passes to Hades, a vast space in the interior of the earth ; here, in the region of the good or of the bad, all souls abide until the resurrection. Only the souls of martyrs dwell in Paradise. Souls do not reappear on the earth, save by the power of God, sorcerers having no power to recall them. In Hades all souls are punished or consoled in anticipation of the gloom or glory to be awarded at the resurrection and the judgment, when the body is resumed and shares the recompense.

## TERTULLIAN AGAINST MARCION.

*Book One. Marcion's God.*—Marcion, a “monster” from the Euxine, deduced his doctrine from Christ’s words about good and evil fruit from good and evil trees, coupled with the Creator’s words, “I create evil” (Isa. xlv, 7). Reasoning from these, he made the Creator the God of Evil, and as a counterpart he assumed the existence of another God, the Father of Christ, and the Author of all good. But God is not if he is not one. He is the great Supreme, and the Supreme must be unique. Marcion, indeed, does not make his gods equal: one is harsh and judicial, one good and mild. Still, by calling the Creator God, he makes him supreme, and so can not subject him to another. The novelty of this new God is fatal to him, since to be God he must be from and to everlasting. This we predicate from our knowledge of the Creator, and we can only judge of the unknown by the known. No one, moreover, can exist to whom nothing belongs; but all things are full of the Creator, and no place is left for Marcion’s God. He can not be shown to have made even a vegetable. The creation is not to be despised, as witness the wonderful work of God in a single feather or the cell of a bee. Even Marcion’s Lord makes use of the Creator’s works, bread, water, etc., in his sacraments. The antithesis assumed by Marcion to exist between two makers, of the visible and of the invisible, holds rather of the different works of the one Creator. Jesus Christ was the revealer of the Creator, and of none other. He appeared in the reign of Tiberius, but Marcion’s God was only revealed one hundred and fifteen years afterward.

The great work of the Marcionites is the separation of the law from the gospel; and since the



existence of their God was only shown at such separation, he could not have been known until these late days. Marcion holds to a difference of understanding between Peter and Paul; but he misunderstands the latter. Paul identifies the Creator and the Father of Christ, as do all the Apostolic churches. The goodness of God is eternal; hence God should have been active in goodness from the beginning, and not simply from the days of Tiberius. Besides, the goodness of Marcion's God is imperfect, in that he saves but a few, and only the souls of those. How contemptible, too, the character of a God who prohibits evil, but does not punish it! And yet Marcion's God does really become a judge, since he rejects sinners from salvation; thus his position has no consistency. Were God not a judge, what end could baptism serve? If no sins are retained to any one, none can be remitted. And one can not regenerate a soul unless [as Creator] he has generated it.

Marcion proscribes marriage, but we hold that God bestowed his blessing upon matrimony, which is simply to be moderated by the spiritual rule.

*Book Two. The Creator the True God.*—The goodness of the known God, being eternal, puts the benevolence of Marcion's God to shame. That man fell showed no failure in the Creator, since the perfection of man was only to be found in that liberty by which he sinned; only as he was free could he be rewarded or punished. God foreknew the result, but knew that in sinning man would see himself answerable to God's law. Man was made stronger than any angel, and now, in his liberty, he is stronger than the devil. God did not sin in man; for in breathing into him the breath of life, he did not make man God. Nor did God cause sin by making the devil; he rather made an angel of light who himself sinned. The divine justice is

an eternal attribute; by it alone could God discriminate in his creation. The expression, "I create evil," is understood by noting two kinds of evil—evils of sin and penal evils—only the latter of which God causes. When God is spoken of as jealous, angry, etc., we must not liken these emotions to the same emotions in men; e. g., God in anger is "moved, but not subverted." God's government as shown in history is full of goodness. He did not curse Adam and Eve, who confessed their sin, but only Cain, who would not confess. To Marcion's objection to the condescension of the Creator, we reply that all the appearances of God in the Old Testament were appearances of Christ, whom he himself allows to have become incarnate. There is preserved the majesty of the invisible God. But this very condescension is "the sacrament of man's salvation. God held [such] converse that man might learn to act divinely; God acted upon equal terms with man, that man might act upon equal terms with God; God was found little, that man might become great."

*Book Three. Christ the Son of God who created the World.*—"Nothing, I suppose, comes suddenly from God, because there is nothing which is not ordered by God." It was fitting that he who sent the Son should be known first, to give authority to the mission of him who was sent. Prophecy was thus employed, and was needed to testify of the Creator's Christ. But Marcion's Christ is not the subject of prophecy. Marcionites agree with the Jews in many of their arguments against Christ's being the subject of prophecy. Two advents were predicted of him, one lowly and one in glory. If, as Marcion holds, Christ's body was unreal, all that he did in connection with the flesh may have been a lie. We claim that both the angels and the Lord himself when they appeared to Abraham had

actual human flesh, though not born. Christ was truly born.

The rest of this book is devoted to the prophecies fulfilled in Christ, in connection with which Tertullian treats of the reign of the saints upon the earth for a thousand years, after which they shall be changed into the substance of angels.

*Book Four.*—This book gives proofs from Marcion's own gospel—substantially Luke's—that Jesus is the Christ of the Creator.

*Book Five.*—Similar proof is here given from the Pauline epistles. Marcion mutilates all of the ten epistles which he receives, except Philemon. He rejects Titus, 1 and 2 Timothy, and Hebrews.

#### AGAINST HERMOGENES.

Hermogenes held that the world, containing evil, was made out of eternally existing matter, the source of evil. Against him Tertullian argues that he thus makes matter equal with God, though the heretic so shrinks as to call it inferior to God. He even makes matter superior to God, since God was in need of it to form the world. He further makes God the author of evil, in that he tolerated matter. But matter could not have been eternally evil, else evil could never end. Again, matter, in admitting change—for good things have certainly been made out of matter—is not eternal. God is in no other way the sole God, but by nothing else being coexistent with him. The very Wisdom of God, who was “in the beginning,” was begotten. Again, although the source of all the rest of God's creation is given—grass out of the earth, whales out of the waters, etc.—we are simply told that “God created the heavens and the earth”; from which we reason that he made them out of nothing. The “earth,”

declared to be without form and void, was not "matter." Matter could not have been void—i. e., imperfect—if eternal. That all things are to return to nothing leads to the presumption that they came from nothing. Thus, shapeless matter were an incongruous source of this beautiful world. In conclusion, the author shows that "matter" is not even mentioned in Scripture; and that in as far as it is shown that matter had no prior existence, in so far is it proved that God made all things out of nothing.

#### AGAINST THE VALENTINIANS.

This work gives an account of the tenets of the Valentinian sect, which revelation, says the author, is of itself enough to destroy the system. Tertullian draws largely from Irenæus, whom he calls "a most assiduous inquirer into all doctrines." The account does not differ sufficiently from the latter author's (for which see the "Five Books against Heresies") to call for its repetition.

#### AGAINST PRAXEAS.

Praxeas claimed that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were the same; that the Father descended into the Virgin, was born, and suffered. Adherents to this belief were called Patripassians, and also Monarchians. Against them, Tertullian claims that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are "three, not in condition, but in degree; not in substance, but in form; not in power, but in aspect." The principle of monarchy is not violated when, as we hold, power is shared by God with one of like will, not with a rival. That the Son does nothing without the Father's will—which is true also of the Spirit

—is shown in that all things will ultimately be restored to the Father. By this last fact two persons are shown. The attitude of these two is illustrated by the relations of the soul to its own reason, which, uttering itself by a word, may become an interlocutor with the soul, and so a second person. The “Word,” who is also the “Wisdom” of God, the “Creator,” is not a mere attribute of God, but a distinct and substantial person, second to the Father. The Trinity does not disturb the Monarchy. “Keep ever in mind that this is the rule of faith which I profess; by which I testify that the Father, and the Son, and the Spirit are inseparable from each other, and so you will know in what sense this is said. For, observe, I assert that the Father is one, and the Son another, and the Spirit another.” We do not, however, make a plurality of Gods. “If the Father and Son are alike to be invoked, I shall call the Father ‘God,’ and invoke Jesus Christ as ‘Lord.’ Christ alone, however, I shall be able to call God.” We recognize in the Father the invisible God, in the Son God made visible; yet the titles “God Almighty,” the “Most High,” are applicable alike to both. It is not unity, but identification, which is opposed by Scripture. Praxeas would have the entire revelation yield to his interpretation of three passages, viz. : Isa. xlv, 5 ; John x, 30, xiv, 9, 10. The Paraclete also is distinct from the Father and the Son. “These three are *unum*, not *unus*, . . . in respect of unity of substance, not singularity of number.” We are immersed, not once only, but three times, into these three persons. The nature of Christ was twofold, “Jesus, God and Man”—not a *tertium quid*. Christ, “in the sense in which he was flesh and man,” not the Father, died. Nor did, nor can, the Father suffer. It was the Son who, on the cross, was forsaken of the Father. This belief in Three, as making One

only God, is the great distinction between the Gospel faith and Judaism.

#### ON THE BODY OF CHRIST.

This tractate is directed against those who deny the identity of our Lord's flesh with human flesh. In it occur these remarkable passages, which only a Tertullian could have written: "O most infamous of men, who dost absolve the murderers of God! . . . The Son of God died; it is absolutely to be believed, because it is absurd. And being buried, he rose again; the fact is certain, because it is impossible."

#### ON THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY.

Heretics who rejected the Creator, the "Demiurge," as they called him, regarded the flesh as his work, and as unworthy and corrupt, not capable of immortality.

Tertullian claims that the Creator is shown to be God when Christ is shown to be such as the Creator had predicted. Christians are not to be content with what even the heathens know, viz., that the soul is immortal. The flesh, too, has dignity, in that it is the workmanship of God and was assumed by Christ. So intimate is the union of the two that it is a question "whether the flesh bears about the soul, or the soul the flesh." No soul can procure salvation save as it believes while in the flesh. "The flesh is washed, that the soul may be cleansed from spots; the flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is marked with the sign [of the cross], that the soul may be protected; the flesh is shaded by the laying on of

hands, that the soul may be enlightened by the Spirit; the flesh feeds of the body and blood of God, that the soul may be fattened by God." [Beside this passage, however, should be placed another in this treatise, in which Tertullian says, that the soul is sanctified not by the "washing" but by the "answer."] God, who could create out of nothing, is certainly able to raise the flesh. Analogies to this power are seen in God's works in nature. "Nothing [in nature] perishes but with a view to salvation. Therefore, this whole revolvable order of things is an attestation of the resurrection of the dead. God wrote it in his works before he wrote it in the Scriptures." The final cause of the resurrection of the flesh is the judgment. The flesh, having been a companion in the conduct of this life, must share its rewards and punishments. Turning now from reason to the Scriptures, they clearly teach the resurrection of the dead; and that that only is raised up which falls by death, that is, the flesh. The interpretation of the resurrection as a passing from the worldly life to life with the Lord at baptism is precluded by the limitation to the figurative use of Scripture language. If the resurrection of the dead were a metaphor, there would be no force in the doctrine of rewards, and no motive to win men to this despised faith. Paul indeed speaks of a spiritual resurrection; but it is in terms compatible with a resurrection of the flesh. Further, he expressly foretells the resurrection at the coming of the Lord, as do also John and the Old Testament prophecies. The Lord himself spoke plainly of the kingdom of God, the judgment, and the resurrection. He came to save the entire man, soul and body, the whole being lost. He also spoke of "destroying both soul and body in hell." This can not mean annihilation, since the fire of hell is eternal. How, in such punish-

ment, shall there be weeping and gnashing of teeth, if there are no teeth and eyes? The men raised up by Christ are also proofs of the bodily resurrection. Certain passages of Paul, wrested by the heretics, are yet consistent with the resurrection of our bodies. For example, when he contrasts the "flesh" with the "spirit," he does not condemn the substance of the flesh, but the works of the flesh. Let the heretics explain that passage to the Thessalonians [1 Thes. v, 23] "which I should think to have been written with a sunbeam, it is so clear." The flesh and blood [of 1 Cor. xv, 50] excluded from the kingdom of God means the carnal disposition. Yet, not pressing this interpretation, the meaning of the passage is that the body *in its present corruptible form* is not to enter the kingdom, but only as it rises in incorruption. Christ in the flesh sits in heaven. "Dwell secure, O flesh and blood; in Christ you have acquired both heaven and the kingdom of God." The very seed that is sown will spring up, having a body given to it of God. There will be a need of these bodies in order to our identity. If I do not recall that it is I who have been deserving, how shall I ascribe glory to God? Our bodies shall also rise entire, though their functions may be unlike those performed by the members here, we being like the angels in heaven. This whole mystery is now made open and plain through the teaching of the Paraclete.

#### "THE APOLOGY."

Addressing the rulers of the Roman Empire, Tertullian charges upon them the injustice of condemning Christians unheard. Multitudes of every class who once opposed the faith through ignorance, now receive it. Though charged with crimes,



Christians do not receive a trial. The mere name of Christian is hated, though Christianity makes the bad good. Ancient laws, if they are against us, might be repealed; if the laws are good, then we should be tried under them. Good emperors have not enforced these laws, Nero having been the first to oppose Christians, and he opposed everything good. Those who most earnestly enforce the laws against us are those who most despise the ancient laws promoting integrity of life. No one ever gave information as to the crimes charged against us; only uncertain rumor suggests them. It would be impossible for you to commit such awful crimes; then how can Christians? for they, too, are men. You credit the charges, perhaps, because of practices which in Africa and elsewhere prevail among yourselves [the heathen]. We are accused simply because we worship not the gods, who, if gods, must have been made by God; and he would not have deified the vile and incestuous, such as they are, but the good, like Socrates. Even you vilify these gods by impious sacrifices, by casting the image of a Saturn into a cooking-pot, by sacrilegious plays, etc. We worship not, as accused, the head of an ass nor a cross. The object of our worship is the One God, who made all things. He has made a written revelation of himself through the prophets who spoke to the Hebrews. Moses, whose works are the thesaurus of the Jewish religion, was more ancient than all your writers or even your gods, antedating Priam by a thousand years. The most recent prophets were coeval with the earlier philosophers and legislators. The divineness of these writings is proved by their having foretold things which are now transpiring. The Jews, according to prophecy, have by reason of wickedness been rejected of God, who appeared in the person of Christ and chose this Christian people. This ray

of God, one in substance with God, descended into a virgin and was made flesh. Rejecting Christ, the Jews delivered him to Pontius Pilate to be crucified, his death having been predicted by the prophets and by himself. On the third day he arose from the dead, commissioned his disciples to preach his gospel, and ascended to heaven. "We worship God through Christ." We believe that demons exist, and know that they claim to be gods; but demons, at the command of Christians, are powerless, and confess themselves not gods. This confession of the one God whom we adore should free us from the charge of treason against the Roman religion. See to it that it does not amount to a charge of irreligion for you to take away religious liberty and forbid the choice of a deity. It is claimed that Rome is great because of her devotion to religion; but, on the contrary, she gained her power while her religion was very simple. The charge against us of treason to Cæsar is untrue. We desire the preservation of the state, and pray for the empire and for Cæsar, as our religion enjoins; but to call Cæsar god would be to invoke upon him a curse. Should Christians who fill the empire leave it, you would have left fewer citizens than enemies.

Christians are knit together by a common faith and discipline. We meet to pray for the welfare of the world; we read our Scriptures and exhort to good conduct. We exercise judgment with gravity, our rulers obtaining their places from good character. Our moneys we devote to charitable purposes. We have all things in common but our wives. At our feasts we have prayer, are temperate in eating and drinking, and talk as knowing that the Lord is a guest. We are accused of bringing calamities upon the state; we rather, by our prayers, avert evils. Instead of being criminals,

we observe a higher virtue than the laws demand. Christianity is not simply a philosophy, Christians and philosophers being alike neither in their knowledge nor in their ways. The latter give no certain information about God; but there is not a Christian workman but finds out God and manifests him. The truth which we hold upon the authority of Scripture has been borrowed and perverted by philosophers; but we are called silly for speaking of things, for speculating upon which they are called great. Then, what these philosophers praise, we practice. Your cruelty does not avail against us; for, after we are mown down by you, the more in number do we grow: the blood of Christians is as seed. "Who, after inquiry, does not yield? when he has yielded, does not desire to suffer, that he may share in the fullness of God's grace, that he may obtain from him full forgiveness by making compensation in his blood?"

#### THE "PRESCRIPTION AGAINST HERETICS."

There is no ground for scandal in the existence of heresies. On the contrary, heresies were foretold by the apostles. They have no power against such as are strong in the faith. Being self-willed, Paul calls the heretic self-condemned. "We, however [of the true faith], are not permitted to cherish anything after our own will, nor yet to choose what another has introduced of his individual fancy. In the Lord's apostles we possess our authority." The parent of heresies is pagan philosophy—the Valentinian doctrines, for example, coming from Plato, and Marcion drawing from the Stoics. Against such philosophy Paul would put us on our guard. "What, indeed, has Athens to do with Jerusalem? What concord is there between the academy and

the church? what between heretics and Christians?" As to the Lord's words, "Seek and ye shall find," they were spoken primarily to Jews and to the apostles before they received the Holy Ghost. But, allowing them to be spoken to all men, such seeking must have a limit. Christianity is a definite thing, and, having believed, one has found, and must cease his search, save within the bounds of the rule of faith. "To know nothing opposed to the rule [of faith] is to know everything." Heretics should not be allowed the use of the Scriptures in argument, since they do not belong to them. They are rather to be admonished by us, for they mutilate and distort the Scriptures. Nor are we to appeal to Scripture in discussing with them, but to our possession of the rule of faith.<sup>1</sup> The faith was delivered by Christ to the apostles; by them to the churches which they founded, from which churches all other churches derive the tradition of the faith. Only that teaching which is so derived is true. Nothing was withheld from the apostles, from Peter, who was "called the 'rock on which the church should be built,' who also obtained 'the keys of the kingdom of heaven'"; nor did the apostles withhold a part of the truth committed to them. The whole truth was in all cases delivered to the whole church. The churches, again, did not lose the faith so intrusted, but they still hold it, and everywhere it is the same. The priority of this doctrine of the church over heresies like those of Marcion, Valentinus, etc., is a proof of its truth. The good seed of truth is sown first; tares come later. The heretics can not claim apostolic descent, but our churches can give proof of theirs.<sup>2</sup> The heretics have an art, exercised also by profane writers, of fabricating errors by collecting passages, "patchwork fashion," from all parts of the Scriptures. There is no real difference between heresy

and idolatry, both being of the same author, the devil. The conduct of the heretics, too, is chargeable with worldliness and frivolity.<sup>8</sup> Their only work is to subvert the people, not to convert the heathen. "Deprive them of the law of Moses and the prophets, and the divinity of the Creator, and they have no objection to talk about." "The majority of them have not even churches. Motherless, houseless, creedless outcasts, they wander about in their own essential worthlessness." They seek the company of magicians and mountebanks, and declare that God is not to be feared. Our stricter discipline is a proof of the truth from which none may safely turn aside who remember that "we must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ." The work closes with a boldly ironical picture of the heretics in controversy with Christ at the judgment.

## EXTRACTS FROM THE "PRESCRIPTION."

1. "Now the Rule of Faith—that we may just here confess what we defend—is in truth that by which it is believed [that] there is one only God, none other than the Creator of the world, who made everything out of nothing by his own Word, sent forth first of all; [that] this Word, called his Son, seen by the patriarchs in various forms under the name of God, heard always in the prophets, at last brought down by the Spirit and power of God the Father into the Virgin Mary, made flesh in her womb and of her born, went forth as Jesus Christ; [that he] thenceforth preached the new law and new promise of the kingdom of heaven; wrought miracles; having been fixed to the cross, rose on the third day; having been taken into heaven, sat down at the right hand of the Father; sent forth in his stead the power of the Holy Ghost, which leads

believers ; [that he] will come with glory to receive the saints into the fruition of life eternal and of the heavenly promises, and to condemn the wicked to eternal fire, the resurrection of both [just and unjust] having occurred together with the restitution of their flesh." (Chap. 13.)

2. "Run over the apostolic churches, among which the very chairs of the apostles defend their places ; among which their own authentic epistles are read, echoing the voice and representing the face of each one of them. Very near to you is Achaia [where] you have Corinth. Since you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi, you have the Thessalonians. As you are able to reach into Asia, you have Ephesus. Since, however, you approach Italy, you have Rome, whence authority comes to us. How blessed is this church upon which apostles bestowed the whole doctrine with their blood ! where Peter suffers a like passion with the Lord's ; where Paul is crowned with the death of John [the Baptist] ; whence the Apostle John, after being immersed in boiling oil, is banished to an island. See what she has learned, what taught, what fellowship she has had with the African churches. One Lord God she confesses," etc. (Chap. 36.)

3. "In the first place ; it is doubtful who is a catechumen, who a believer ; all approach alike, hear alike, pray alike, even the heathen, if they chance along. . . . They will have simplicity to be a subversion of discipline, care for which among us they call *finery*. Peace also they jumble together indiscriminately with every one. For nothing is of concern to them ; they are permitted to conduct themselves differently so as they conspire to oppose the one truth. All swell with pride ; all promise knowledge. Their catechumens are perfect before they are taught. The very women of the heretics, how bold ! who venture to teach, to dispute, to per-

form exorcisms, to promise cures, perhaps also to baptize. Their ordinations are inconsiderate, trivial, changeable. . . . Thus to-day one man is bishop, to-morrow another; to-day he is a deacon who to-morrow is a reader, to-day a presbyter who to-morrow is a layman. For even on laymen do they impose priestly functions." (Chap. 41.)

#### EXTRACTS FROM SHORTER WORKS.

##### *From "On the Spectacles."*

"But what a spectacle is the impending advent of our Lord, now owned by all, now exalted, now triumphant! What will be that exultation of angels! what the glory of the rising saints! what thereafter the kingdom of the just! what the city New Jerusalem! But there will remain other spectacles; that day of judgment last and unending, that day unlooked for by the nations, that day derided, when the so great age of the world and all its productions will be consumed in one fire. What then the vastness of the spectacle! What do I admire? what deride? At which sight do I rejoice? at which exult? Seeing so many and so great monarchs, who were proclaimed to have been received into heaven, now, with Jove himself and with those who testified to them, groaning in the lowest darkness! seeing also governors, who persecuted the Lord's name, melting in flames more fierce than those with which in their insolent days they raged against Christians! . . . That you may see, that you may exult in such things, what prætor, or consul, or quæstor, or priest, will of his liberality bestow upon you?" (Chap. 30.)

##### *From "On the Testimony of the Soul."*

"Stand forth, O soul, . . . I demand of thee what things thou bringest with thee into man. . . .

Thou art not, as I know, a Christian ; for a Christian is wont to be made, not born." (Chap. 1.) "Every soul proclaims, in its own right, what it is not allowed to us to breathe. Every soul therefore is justly both culprit and witness ; being so far convicted of error as it has testified of the truth ; and will stand before the courts of God in the day of judgment, having nothing to say. Thou claimedst God [O soul], but didst not seek after him ; thou didst detest evil spirits, but yet adoredst them ; thou calledst God to witness, but didst not believe him to exist ; thou didst foresee the punishments of hell, but avertedst them not ; thou hadst a savor of the Christian name, and didst persecute the Christian." (Chap. 6.)

*From the Address "To Scapula."*

"However, it is a right of man, a natural privilege for every one, to worship according to his own convictions." (Chap. 2.)

*From Treatise "On Prayer."*

"For it [the Lord's Prayer] has embraced not only the special offices of prayer, whether veneration of God, or petition for man, but almost every discourse of the Lord, every record of [his] discipline ; so that, in fact, an epitome of the whole Gospel is comprehended in the prayer." (Chap. 1.) "It is prayer alone that vanquishes God ; but Christ has willed it to accomplish nothing evil. He has conferred all virtue upon it for good. Therefore it has known nothing save how to recall the souls of the departed from the very path of death, to renew the weak, to heal the sick, to purify the possessed, to open prison-bars, to loose the bonds of the innocent. It likewise washes away crimes, repels temptations, extinguishes persecutions, con-



soles the timid, cheers the brave, escorts travelers, calms waves, astounds robbers, feeds the poor, governs the rich, recovers the lapsed, sustains the falling, maintains those who stand. Prayer is the wall of faith, our arms and weapons against the enemy who is everywhere watching us. Let us never, therefore, go unarmed. Of station by day, of vigil by night, let us be mindful. Under the armor of prayer, let us guard the standard of our Emperor; praying, let us await the trumpet of the angel. All angels, indeed, pray; every creature prays; cattle and wild beasts pray and incline their knees, and going forth from their stalls and caves, they look up to heaven with mouth not idle, causing their breath to vibrate in their own manner. Nay, birds also rising from the nest mount toward heaven, and, instead of hands, spread out into the cross of wings, and say what seems to be prayer. What more, then, of the office of prayer? Even the Lord himself prayed; to whom be honor and power unto the ages of the ages." (Chap. 29.)

*From Treatise "On Idolatry."*

"No man can be esteemed clean in unclean things." (Chap. 18.)

*From Treatise "On Baptism."*

"But we little fishes, after the example of our ΙΧΘΥΣ,\* Jesus Christ, are born in water, nor are we saved otherwise than by abiding in [that] water." (Chap. 1.) "Therefore all waters, from the pristine prerogative of their origin, upon God being invoked, do attain unto the mystery of sanctification. For immediately the Spirit supervenes from heaven, and rests over the waters, sanctifying them from himself; and being so sanctified, they imbibe

\* Fish. From the initials of Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Ὑιὸς Σωτὴρ.

the power of sanctifying." (Chap. 4.) "Not that we obtain the Holy Spirit in the water; but being cleansed in the water, under the angel, we are prepared for the Holy Spirit." (Chap. 6.) "Afterward, come forth from the laver, we are anointed with the blessed unction derived from the former [Jewish] discipline." (Chap. 7.) "Next the hand is imposed, through the benediction invoking and inviting the Holy Spirit." . . . "Thus the Most Holy Spirit descends willingly from the Father over our cleansed and blessed bodies, rests over the waters of baptism as if recognizing its pristine seat." (Chap. 8.)

"But when it is prescribed that no one without baptism shall attain to salvation—chiefly because of that declaration of the Lord, 'Except a man be born of water he shall not have life'—scrupulous, rather indiscreet, doubts arise on the part of some as to how, in accordance with such a prescription, salvation could accrue to the apostles, whom, Paul excepted, we do not find to have been baptized in the Lord." (Chap. 12.) "Here, then, those villains raise questions. So they say, 'Baptism is not necessary to those for whom faith suffices; for Abraham was pleasing to God by a sacrament of no water, but of faith.' But in all cases the later [customs] are conclusive, and things following prevail over things preceding. Salvation may formerly, before the passion and resurrection of the Lord, have been through a bare faith. But when the enlarged faith is one which believes in his nativity, passion, and resurrection, an amplification is added to the sacrament, the seal of baptism, a vestment, in some sense, of the faith which was formerly bare, but now is unable to be without its own law. For the law of baptizing has been imposed, and the form prescribed. 'Go,' he said, 'teach the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son

and of the Holy Ghost.'” (Chap. 13.) “Of giving it [baptism], the chief priest, who is the bishop, has the right; then presbyters and deacons, not, however, without the authority of the bishop, on account of the honor of the church, which being preserved, peace is preserved. Besides, even the laity possess the right. . . . But how much more is the discipline of reverence and modesty incumbent upon laymen—since these things pertain to their superiors—forbidding them to assume to themselves the function assigned to the bishop! Emulation of the episcopal office is the mother of schism. ‘All things,’ said the most holy apostle, ‘are lawful, but all are not expedient.’” (Chap. 17.) “But they to whom the office pertains know that baptism should not be administered rashly. . . . Therefore, according to the condition and disposition, even the age of each person, the delay of baptism is preferable, principally, however, as applying to the very young. For why is it necessary, if [baptism] is not essential, to put in peril even the sponsors, who may themselves through mortality fail to fulfill their promises, and may be deceived by the growth of an evil disposition [in the baptized]? The Lord does, indeed, say, ‘Forbid them not to come unto me.’ Let them come while they are growing up, let them come while they are learning, while they are taught whither they should come; let them become Christians when they are able to know Christ. Why should an innocent age hasten to the remission of sins? . . . If any appreciate the importance of baptism they will rather fear its reception than its delay; sound faith is secure of salvation.” (Chap. 18.)

*From Tract “On Repentance.”*

“This [man’s salvation] is the motive of repentance, this her work in undertaking the business of

the divine mercy. What is profitable to man does service to God. But the rule thereof, which we learn when the Lord is known, holds a definite form—no violent hand, so to speak, shall ever be laid upon good deeds or thoughts.” (Chap. 2.)

“I esteem it audacity to dispute concerning the ‘good’ of a divine precept. For it is not because it is good that we are therefore bound to obey, but because God has commanded.” (Chap. 4.)

“We are not washed in order that we may cease to sin, but because we have ceased to sin, since already in heart we have been bathed.” (Chap. 6.)

*From Tract “On Patience.”*

“So is patience set over the things of God that, estranged from it, one is able to obey no precept, to perform no work well-pleasing to the Lord.” (Chap. 1.) “Perish the whole world so that I attain unto patience!” (Chap. 7.) [Speaking of Job] “What a bier for the devil did God erect in that hero!” (Chap. 14.)

*From Tract “On Modesty.”*

“The occasions of penitence we declare to be sins. These we classify according to two issues. Some will be remissible, some irremissible. Wherefore it is doubtful to no one that some must merit castigation, some damnation. Either grace or punishment marks each crime: grace for castigation; punishment for damnation. Concerning this difference we put forth certain antithetical passages of Scripture, here retaining, here remitting sins.” (Chap. 2.) [Addressing either Victor or Zephyrinus, who has put forth an edict remitting gross sins, and whom he has ironically styled “Pontifex Maximus, forsooth! which is the bishop of bishops,” Tertullian says:] “Exhibit, therefore, to me as an apostle, prophetic examples, that I may recognize

the divinity [which is your sanction]; and vindicate to thyself the power to forgive sins in a like manner [with Peter]. Because, if thou hast shared a purely disciplinary office, not to preside with power but as a minister, who or what art thou to give indulgence, who, showing thyself neither prophet nor apostle, dost lack that by virtue of which it is given to grant indulgence? . . . Because the Lord said to Peter, 'Upon this rock,' etc. [Matt. xvi, 18, 19], dost thou, therefore, presume that the power of loosing and binding has devolved upon thee, that is upon the whole church related to Peter? Who art thou, overturning and changing the plain intention of the Lord to confer this upon Peter personally?" (Chap. 21.)

*From Tract "On the Soldier's Chaplet."*

[To the plea that the Scriptures nowhere forbid the wearing of a crown, and that what is not forbidden is permitted, Tertullian says:] "On the contrary, that is prohibited which has not been expressly permitted." (Chap. 2.) [Arguing again that tradition may prescribe a custom, which should be binding, he speaks of the practice in baptism:] "Hereupon we are thrice immersed (*termergitamur*), giving a somewhat ampler pledge than the Lord appointed in the gospel," etc. . . . "We also receive the sacrament of the eucharist, which the Lord commanded to be received at meal-time, and by all [alike], at our meetings before daybreak and from the hands of the presidents alone. We make offerings for the dead, as birthday honors, on the anniversary day. On the Lord's day, we account fasting and kneeling in worship to be unlawful. We rejoice in the same immunity from Easter until Pentecost. If any of the bread or wine, though it be our own, be cast on the ground, we suffer solici-

tude. At every step and motion forward, at every going in and out, upon dressing and putting on our shoes, upon bathing, at our tables, upon lighting the lamps, upon reclining, upon sitting down, whatever action engages us, we trace the forehead with the sign [of the cross]. If you demand a law of the Scriptures for these and other similar rules, you will find none. Tradition will be offered you as their author, custom as their confirmer, and faith as their observer." (Chaps. 3 and 4.)

*From Tract "On the Veiling of Virgins."*

"The rule of faith is one and universal, sole, immovable, and unalterable, viz.: Belief in one God Almighty, Creator of the world, and in his Son, Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, raised from the dead on the third day, received into heaven, now sitting at the right hand of the Father, about to come to judge the living and the dead, through the resurrection even of the body. This law of faith remaining, other matters of discipline and action admit the novelty of correction, the grace of God indeed continuing to operate even to the end. . . . On this account the Lord has sent the Paraclete, that, since human mediocrity can not grasp all things at once, discipline may be directed and ordered and led, little by little, to perfection by that substitute of the Lord, the Holy Spirit." (Chap. 1.)

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### CYPRIAN.

CYPRIAN, the Bishop. There were bishops before him, there were bishops after him; but never has one so magnified the office as this Bishop of

Carthage. He was born about 200 A. D., and was highly educated for the profession of a rhetorician. We know little of his earlier career, Pontius the Deacon, who wrote of his life and passion, remarking that "the doings of a man should not be reckoned from any other point, except from the time that he was born of God." He appears to us in middle life, a man of wealth and position, who, through the influence of his friend Cæcilius, becomes a Christian, and at once devotes his wealth to the relief of the poor and to other charitable works. This conversion occurred 246 A. D., and so rapidly did he advance in the esteem of his fellow-Christians that, having been ordained to the priesthood, he was, 248 A. D., chosen Bishop of Carthage; and, notwithstanding that it was a promotion over those who had been long in the priesthood, he was constrained by the unanimous voice of the people to accept the office. The position was not solely one to be coveted; for, as head of the leading church in Africa, the Bishop of Carthage was the most conspicuous object of the persecutions which raged against Christians. In 250 A. D., at the outbreak of the Decian persecution, Cyprian was induced to go for a time into retirement. In his seclusion, however, he did not cease to direct the affairs of the church; but by means of letters, many of which have come down to us, his influence was constantly felt throughout his diocese. An important subject of this correspondence was the matter of the discipline of those who in the persecutions had fallen away. So long as the oppression lasted, Cyprian was inclined to a rigid treatment of these

lapsed Christians; but having, with the return of peace, gone back to Carthage, he became more lenient; indeed, with the concurrence of councils of his clergy, he was so tolerant as to be charged by the Novatians with laxity of discipline. Another correspondence of Cyprian was with the Bishop of Rome and others in regard to rebaptizing heretics when they came into the Catholic Church. The Carthaginian bishop and clergy, as was declared in the Seventh Council of Carthage, were in favor of such rebaptism; while the bishops and clergy at Rome as earnestly opposed it. In the discussion of this subject, Cyprian, while writing courteously to his "colleague," the Bishop of Rome, asserts his own equal right, as a bishop, with his clergy, to decide upon the proper procedure. Similarly, in a correspondence with reference to certain of the clergy in Spain, the Bishop of Carthage is unwilling to abate anything of his own or of his clergy's dignity in favor of the bishop and clergy at Rome.

An important occurrence of Cyprian's episcopate was a schism under the presbyter Felicissimus; but so vigorously did the bishop assert his claims, as head of the church, that ecclesiastical discipline was rather strengthened than weakened thereby.

Under Valerian, in the year 254, Cyprian was banished to Curubis, but was soon recalled. Subsequently, when the persecution was raging violently, he once more withdrew temporarily; but returning to Carthage 258 A. D., he rejoiced in becoming a martyr to the faith.

The extant works of Cyprian, besides the let-



ters already referred to, were twelve treatises, described hereafter. The Epistles are noted in the order given by Migne, which omits the number twenty-three. Though made from Migne's text, our translations have usually followed the readings of the Oxford edition.

#### CYPRIAN'S EPISTLES.

These are a collection of eighty-two epistles, sixty-six of which were written by Cyprian, the remainder either being addressed to him or having regard to persons and events in his church at Carthage.

Epistle 1, to Donatus, was written soon after Cyprian's conversion. "While yet in darkness," he says, "it seemed to me impossible for a man to be born again, and set free from the bondage of his sins; but having been washed, the impossible is known to be possible. Standing now, as on a mountain, above the world, we look down upon all its various forms of wickedness, and reflect that the only escape therefrom is in turning to God. Whom he has made rich none can make poor."

Epistles 2 to 40 were written during the period of Cyprian's retirement under the persecution. Epistle 4,<sup>1</sup> from Cyprian to his clergy, may be read as a specimen of the pastoral letters by which, though absent, the bishop still performed his diocesan labors. Not a few of these letters were written to or about the confessors of Christ, who were at that time suffering at Carthage and

Rome. All of these accord extravagant praise to such confessors; but one of them, Epistle 6, while praising, also rebukes certain confessors most severely for their arrogance and for their outbreaking sins. Epistle 9 refers to certain presbyters who had unduly granted peace to the lapsed, without consulting the bishops, and insists on their guilt. If these continue, they shall give answer before himself and the brethren and confessors, and shall lose their power of offering. A similar letter of reproof, Epistle 10, was directed to certain confessors who, subverting all discipline, were granting to the lapsed certificates reading, "Let such a one be received to communion, along with his friends"! In Epistle 12, Cyprian gives permission to his clergy to grant remission to such of the lapsed, having certificates from the martyrs, as are at the point of death. Epistle 16, from Lucianus and others to "Pope Cyprian," shows that some of the confessors assumed a very arrogant position toward the clergy; while others, as is shown by Epistle 26, from Moyse and others to Cyprian, were in full accord with the latter's ideas as to discipline. In Epistle 27, to the lapsed, Cyprian sets forth formally the doctrine that "the church is founded upon the bishops, and every act of the church is controlled by these same rulers." Epistle 37, enjoining upon the clergy to show kindness to the confessors in prison, bids them also to note carefully the days of their death, that their memory may afterward be celebrated. In Epistles 38 and 40, Cyprian refers to the schism of Felicissimus, and directs that the latter, together with five presbyters who had granted peace to the

lapsed, and had stirred up strife against himself, their bishop, be excommunicated.

Epistles 41 to 57 were mostly written to Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, and refer chiefly to the schism of Novatian. In Epistles 41 and 42, Cyprian informs Cornelius that the clergy at Carthage had refused to receive, or commune with, the messengers who had come to them from Novatian, since they considered his ordination as bishop to have been unlawful, and in opposition to the Catholic Church; and explains that the Carthaginians had only followed ancient usage in desiring full proof of Cornelius's rightful promotion before recognizing him as bishop. Epistle 44 is addressed to certain confessors at Rome who had followed the party of Novatian and Novatus, and exhorts them to return to the church. Epistle 46, from Cornelius to Cyprian, announces the return of certain schismatics to the church, and gives the form of words in which they declared their allegiance to the Catholic body.<sup>2</sup> In Epistle 52, to Antonianus, Cyprian sets forth the just claims of Cornelius, as opposed to Novatian, showing that he assumed office at a time of danger, and denying the charge of the Novatian party, that he communed everywhere with sacrificers. Both Cornelius and himself [Cyprian], in now communicating with those who had received certificates more freely than seemed wise to them while the persecution continued, were following the decision of many bishops met in council, both in Africa and at Rome. As to Novatian [who would not on any terms commune with the sacrificers], he is not in the church, and yet he arrogates to him-

self a position above the apostles, in that he assumes to judge here between the wheat and the tares. Epistle 55, to Cornelius, has received the appropriate title "Against Heretics." It contains a defense of the dignity of the priesthood. Heresies and schisms all spring from this, "that God's priest is not obeyed, nor is it considered that there is one person for the time priest in the church, and for the time judge instead of Christ." As to the doings of schismatics in his diocese, Cyprian, as becomes the dignity of the Catholic Church, has not heretofore concerned himself about them enough to communicate them to Cornelius. Having now, however, spoken of their proceedings, Cyprian adds that they presume to appeal to Rome, instead of bringing their matters before the bishops of Africa, their proper tribunal.<sup>3</sup> Epistle 57, the last of this group, was a letter of congratulation, addressed to Cornelius in exile. Of the remaining letters, Epistle 66, addressed to the people and clergy of Furni, relates to one Victor, who at death had named a presbyter as his executor. It forbids that any offering be made for his repose, or any prayer be made in the church in his name; for a council of bishops had decreed that "no one should appoint any of the clergy and the ministers of God executor or guardian by his will, since every one honored by the divine priesthood, and ordained in the clerical service, ought to serve the altar and sacrifices only, and to have leisure for prayers and supplications." Epistle 67, from "Cyprian to his brother Stephen," Bishop of Rome, reminds the latter of a fact which, Cyprian says, "I certainly know to have been told

to you," namely, that Marcianus, Bishop of Arles in Gaul, had gone over to the party of Novatian; and urges Stephen to direct letters "to the people abiding at Arles, by which, Marcian being excommunicated, another may be substituted in his place." In Epistle 68, Cyprian and thirty-six bishops reply to a request for counsel from the people of Legio, Asturica, and Emerita, in Spain. Two bishops, Basilides and Martialis, had proved recreant and forfeited their offices, and the people had chosen one Sabinus in the place of Basilides. But the latter, who had at first voluntarily laid down the episcopate, afterward wished to resume it, and had gone to Rome and deceived Stephen, with the purpose of being replaced. Notwithstanding, however, that Stephen had supported them, the African bishops here counsel the churches not to hold communion with such profane and polluted priests. The following sentence indicates the spirit of the letter: "On which account a people obedient to the Lord's precepts, and fearing God, ought to separate themselves from a sinful ruler, and not to associate themselves with the sacrifices of a sacrilegious priest, especially since they themselves have the power either of choosing worthy priests, or of rejecting unworthy ones." Epistle 69 is addressed to Florentius Pupianus, who had written to Cyprian, asking about the truth of certain charges against him, and urging upon him that priests ought to be lowly. Cyprian rebukes the inquiries sharply and with sarcasm for taking up a reproach against a priest and even a bishop: "To believe that they who are ordained are unworthy and unchaste, what

else is it but to believe that his priests are not appointed in the church by God nor through God?" Only, therefore, as Pupianus shall consider God's majesty who ordains priests, and shall trust, in respect of the innocence of bishops, not human hatred, but the divine judgment, can he have communion with him. As to humility, Cyprian says, "Both all the brethren and Gentiles, also, well know and love my humility." Epistles 70 to 76 have reference to the contröversy on the rebaptism of heretics. The position taken by Cyprian and his colleagues is set forth in Epistle 72, from "Cyprian and others to Stephen their brother." This relates that a council [the seventh Council of Carthage, held A. D. 256, composed of eighty-seven North African bishops] had determined "that those who have been dipped abroad outside the church, and have been stained among heretics and schismatics with the taint of profane water, when they come to us and to the church which is one, ought to be baptized." This as opposed to the position taken by Stephen and the Roman clergy, and set forth in a letter of the Roman bishop. In Epistle 74, to Pompey, Cyprian refers to this last letter, and says that Stephen, "among other matters which were either arrogant, or were not pertaining to the matter," declares that, "if any one, therefore, come to you from any heresy whatever, let nothing be innovated which has not been handed down, that hands be imposed on him for repentance." Cyprian further speaks, in this letter, of the "bitter obstinacy of our brother Stephen"; whereas "Paul writes to Timothy, and warns him that a bishop

must not be 'litigious nor contentious, but gentle and teachable.' Now, he is teachable who is meek and gentle to the patience of learning. For it behooves a bishop not only to teach, but also to learn; because he also teaches better who daily increases and advances by better learning." Epistle 83, written from a place of retirement shortly before his death, informs his people that he withdraws for the reason that the officers were to take him away to Utica, whereas the glory of the church demanded that a bishop should suffer at his own city; and that he is simply awaiting the return of the proconsul to Carthage to come back himself and "thence depart to the Lord."

## EXTRACTS FROM THE EPISTLES.

## I. EPISTLE 4. To the Presbyters and Deacons.

"Cyprian to the presbyters and deacons, his beloved brethren, greeting: Being safe, through God's grace, I salute you, dearest brethren, rejoicing that I know everything to be well as regards your safety also. And since the condition of the place does not now permit me to be among you, I pray you by your faith and your religion to perform there your own office and mine, that nothing may be wanting either to discipline or diligence. Moreover, with regard to the means for providing either for those who, having confessed the Lord with glorious voice, have been imprisoned, or for those who labor in poverty and want, and still persevere in the Lord, I entreat that nothing be wanting; since the whole little sum which was collected there was distributed among the clergy for cases of this kind, that they might have enough from which they may

provide for the necessities and burdens of individuals."

"I entreat also that for procuring quiet your wisdom and care be not wanting. For, although, from their affection, the brethren desire to approach and visit the good confessors whom the divine regard has already distinguished by glorious beginnings, I yet desire that this be done cautiously and not in crowds, nor in great numbers collected at one time, lest, by this, hatred be aroused and the opportunity of entering be denied, and, while insatiably desiring all, we lose all. Consult, therefore, and provide that, with moderation, this may be done more safely; so that the presbyters also, who there offer [the oblation] among the confessors, may severally take their turns with the several deacons, because a change of persons and a varying of those coming together diminish suspicion. For meek and lowly as to all things, as becomes servants of God, we ought to regard the times, and promote quietness, and provide for the people. I wish you, dearest and most longed-for brethren, ever a hearty farewell; and do you remember me. Salute all the brotherhood. Victor, the deacon, and those who are with me salute you. Farewell."

2. "'We,' they say, 'recognize Cornelius as elected bishop of the most holy Catholic Church by Almighty God and by our Lord Jesus Christ. We confess our error. We have suffered imposture, and have been circumvented by perfidy and captious loquacity. For although we seemed, as it were, to have some connection with a man who was schismatic and a heretic, nevertheless our mind was always sincere in the Church. For we are not ignorant that there is one God, one Christ, the Lord whom we confess, one Holy Spirit, and that there ought to be one bishop in the Catholic Church.'" (Epistle 46, 2.)



3. "After these things, moreover, they still dare—a false bishop having been made for them by heretics—to set sail and to bring letters from profane and schismatic persons to the throne of Peter, and to the most distinguished church, whence arises the priestly unity; and not to reflect that those are Romans whose faith was praised by the preaching of the apostles, to whom perfidy can gain no access. But what was the reason for [their] coming and announcing the making of the false bishop against the bishop? For either what they had done was pleasing to them, and they were persevering in their wickedness; or, if it was displeasing and they were drawing back, they know whither they may return. For since it has been decreed by us all, and is equally fair and just, that the cause of each one shall be heard there, where the crime has been committed; and to the several pastors a portion of the flock has been assigned, which each one rules and governs, having to give account of his action to the Lord; it is certainly becoming in those over whom we are, not to run about and to break up the harmonious concord of the bishops by their crafty and deceitful temerity; but to submit their cause there, where they may have the accusers and witnesses of their crimes, unless, perchance, to a few desperate and lost men, the authority of the bishops constituted in Africa seems insufficient, who have already pronounced concerning them, and have lately by the gravity of their judgment condemned their conscience, bound by many snares of wickedness." (Epistle 55, 14.)

## CYPRIAN'S TREATISES.

There are extant the following twelve treatises by Cyprian: I, "On the Dress of Virgins." II, "On

the Lapsed." This is a treatise upon the position of those who in the persecutions had fallen, and offered sacrifice to idols. The church, it says, had come into so sad a state, so great a love for the world had crept in, that there was call for this discipline of suffering. Some had made haste to deny, and had even involved their infant children in their sin; these should be dealt with severely. For those from whom denial was extorted by the extremity of torture, it is right to have sympathy. But many of the lapsed are now seeking the communion of the church, without having even penitently confessed their sin. Those who receive such do them great injury, hindering them from salvation. The confessors who are granting to the lapsed certificates entitling them to communion, irrespective of the discipline of the church, are derogating from their own glory. Some who presume thus profanely to commune are miraculously punished. Each one, then, should turn and "confess his own sin, while yet he who has sinned is in the world, while his confession may be received, while the satisfaction and remission made by the priests are acceptable to the Lord." Do not think that he will easily pardon; <sup>1</sup> though to the truly penitent he is merciful. III, "On the Unity of the Church." This treatise was called forth by the schism of Novatian at Rome. Heresies and schisms, it says, are of the adversary. There is every proof for faith in a short summary of the truth. The Lord said to Peter, "Upon this rock will I build my church."<sup>2</sup> Whoever, therefore, forsakes the church can not attain to the rewards of Christ. "He is a

stranger ; he is profane ; he is an enemy. He can no longer have God for his father who has not the church for his mother." The apostles warned against schisms which are only tolerated as a test, to distinguish between the wheat and the chaff. They are unrighteous chaff who appoint themselves prelates and take the name of bishops. These think they can baptize, but men are not washed by them ; they are rather made foul. Even suffering can not take away the stain of schism, for no one can be a martyr who is not in the church. Whoever separates from the church is to be avoided as "an enemy to the altar, a rebel against Christ's sacrifice"; in that, "despising the bishops, and forsaking God's priests, he dares to set up another altar, to make another prayer with unauthorized words." IV, "On the Lord's Prayer." V, "An Address to Demetrianus." VI, "On the Vanity of Idols," a treatise closing with the words, "What Christ is, we Christians shall be if we imitate him." VII, "On the Mortality." This treatise urges upon Christians not to fear death from the plague, but to anticipate heaven as the going home from a foreign land to meet kindred and friends awaiting them. "Besides these kindred," it says, "there [await us] the glorious company of the apostles ; there the host of the rejoicing prophets ; there the innumerable multitude of martyrs. . . . Let us crave quickly to be with them, and quickly to come to Christ." VIII, "On Works and Alms." In this work is shown the place of good works in the economy of salvation, namely, the part of washing away the sin contracted after baptism. This, it claims,

is the doctrine of Scripture [quoting *Ecclus.* iii, 30, and *Luke* xi, 41]. The Lord enjoined almsgiving; and, upon Scripture testimony, he who giveth to the poor shall not lack. Let no one fear liberality; but let all trust in God for the future. Make Christ a partner with you in your earthly possessions. By thus giving your wealth to God, you are making him the guardian of your children. By withholding your wealth, you commend your children to the devil. Let all consider how the devil may boast of the gratuitous service of his followers, in comparison with the devotion of Christ's servants.<sup>3</sup> IX, "On the Advantage of Patience." X, "On Jealousy and Envy." XI, The "Exhortation to Martyrdom" is a collocation of Scripture passages, designed to strengthen the minds of soldiers of Christ for their contests. In the preface the writer says that he has given the Scripture itself instead of a treatise of his own—has sent "the very wool and purple of the Lamb" from which the reader may make a garment of Christ for himself. XII, Three books of "Testimonies against the Jews" are, similarly, compilations from the Scriptures. Book One shows that the Jews, having lost God's favor, have been succeeded by the Christians. Book Two treats of Christ. Book Three is "a summary of heavenly precepts" upon one hundred and twenty different topics.

## EXTRACTS FROM THE TREATISES.

*From "On the Lapsed."*

1. "Do you think that he will easily pardon you, whom you have declared not to be yours? It is necessary for you to pray more earnestly, and to supplicate; to pass the day in grief; to wear out the night in vigils and weepings; to occupy the whole time in tearful lamentation; to cling prone to the earth in ashes; to be wrapped in sackcloth and filth; to be willing, after losing the raiment of Christ, to be unclothed; after [tasting] the food of the devil, to prefer fasting; to be earnest in good works, with which sins are purged; to give yourselves often to almsgiving, by which souls are freed from death. What the adversary took away, let Christ receive. Nor should an estate now be held or loved by which one is deceived and overcome. Wealth, as an enemy must be avoided, as a robber must be fled from, as a sword and as a poison must be feared, by its possessors. To this end only should what remains be of service, that thereby the crime and the fault be redeemed. Let there be instant and bountiful beneficence; let the entire possessions be laid out for the healing of the wound; let there be lent from our wealth and means unto the Lord, who will judge us." (Chap. 34.)

*From "On the Unity of the Church."*

(The unauthenticated passages of this extract are omitted.)

2. "The Lord speaks to Peter and says: [quot. of Matt. xvi, 18, 19.] And again he says to the same after his resurrection, 'Feed my sheep.' And, although, after the resurrection, he gives equal power to all the apostles, and says, 'As the Father hath sent me, I also send you: Receive the Holy Ghost:

If ye remit the sins of any one, they shall be remitted; if ye retain [the sins], they shall be retained'; still, that he might set forth a unity, by his own authority he determined the origin of that unity, as beginning from one. What Peter was, that assuredly were also the other apostles, endowed with a like partnership of honor and of power; but the beginning proceeds from unity, that the Church of Christ might be shown as one; which one church also, in the Song of Songs, the Holy Spirit, in the person of the Lord, designates and says: [quot. of Cant. vi, 9.] Does he who does not hold to this unity of the church think that he holds the faith? Does he who opposes and resists the church trust that he is in the church? when also the blessed apostle Paul teaches this same thing, and makes known the sacrament of unity, saying: 'One body and one spirit, one hope of your calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God.' " (Chap. 4.)

*From "On Works and Alms."*

3. "Let each one place before his eyes the devil with his servants, that is, with the people of perdition and death, who springs into the midst and provokes, by the trial of comparison, the people of Christ, he being present as judge, saying: 'For those whom thou seest with me, I neither received buffets, nor endured stripes, nor bore a cross, nor shed my blood, nor redeemed my family at the price of my suffering and blood; but neither do I promise to them a celestial kingdom, nor do I, immortality being restored again, recall them to paradise. And yet they prepare for me gifts, how precious! how great! sought with what excessive and enduring labor, by most costly means, either pledging their own wealth or selling it to procure the gift! and unless a sufficient exhibition may

have followed, they are cast out with revilings and hissings, and by the popular fury sometimes they are almost stoned. Show, O Christ, such givers of thine—those rich men, those affluent with abundant wealth—whether, thou presiding and looking on in the church, they set forth gifts of this kind, their wealth being pledged, or scattered, indeed, transmuted, their possessions being transferred for the better to the celestial treasury. In those spectacles of mine, fleeting and earthly, no one is fed, no one is clothed, no one is sustained by the solace of any food or drink. Between the fury of the performer and the folly of the spectator, all things are perishing in a prodigal and silly vanity of misleading pleasures. Among thy poor, there art thou clothed and fed, thou dost promise eternal life to thy laborers; and scarcely equal to mine, who perish, are thy people, who are honored by thee with divine wages and celestial rewards.’” (Chap. 22.)

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## OTHER LATIN WRITERS.

AFTER Tertullian and Cyprian, but at a long remove from them, should be named Minucius Felix, Novatian, Arnobius, and Lactantius. Minucius Felix, who lived in the latter part of the second and the earlier part of the third centuries, before his conversion was an advocate at Rome. His only work, the “Octavius,” gives account of a supposed argument between a heathen, Cæcilius, and the Christian, Octavius, the writer being the arbiter between them. The discussion is said to take place during an excursion of the three friends.

from Rome to the seaside at Ostia. Cæcilius charges upon the Christians immorality and superstition; and claims that it is better to receive as sufficient what the fathers taught, and to allow ourselves no liberty of private judgment in matters pertaining to the gods, since our ancestors, having had the gods for their kings or friends, were better judges than we. Octavius shows the charges to be calumnies, and otherwise refutes his arguments, so as to convince his opponent. Scholars have differed in opinion as to whether this work was of earlier or later date than Tertullian's "Apology," one having evidently borrowed from the other. Of its literary character, Dean Milman says, "Perhaps no late work, either Pagan or Christian, reminds us of the golden days of Latin prose so much as the 'Octavius' of Minucius Felix."—Novatian, a Roman presbyter, caused a schism in the church on the question of admitting the lapsed to communion. His party were distinguished by the strictness of their discipline, calling themselves "the pure." Eusebius has preserved parts of a letter concerning this leader, written by Cornelius of Rome to Fabius of Antioch. It inveighs against the schismatic with no little bitterness, charging him with abandoning the Church of God, with procuring his consecration to the episcopate in an unlawful manner, and with requiring of his followers an oath that they would not desert him and return to Cornelius. Alluding to the constitution of the church at Rome at that time, the writer says: "This assertor of the gospel then did not know that there should be but one bishop in a catholic



church. In which, however, he well knew that there were forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acoluthi, exorcists, readers, and janitors, in all fifty-two; widows, with the afflicted and needy, more than fifteen hundred; all which the goodness and love of God doth support and nourish." The principal extant writings of Novatian, who composed many works, are a treatise "On the Trinity," setting forth the "rule of truth" on this doctrine; and one "On the Jewish Meats."—Arnobius, a North African writer, was a rhetorician of Sicca, in the reign of Diocletian. Jerome relates that he had ever been an opponent of Christianity, and that at his conversion he offered his work, "Seven Books against the Heathen," as a pledge of his sincerity. The character of the book, however, as a learned and labored production, would seem to contradict this, as well as the fact that when he wrote (297–303 A. D.) violent persecutions were still raging. One great object of this apologetic work was to prove that the calamities then befalling the state were not chargeable to Christianity. The defense is made principally by an attack on heathenism, in which is used the keenest satire. The author seems unacquainted with the Old Testament, and, though knowing of the events of Christ's life, never speaks of quoting from the gospels. A noticeable feature of the book is that it denies the immortality of the soul save as this is conferred by Christ. Arnobius probably became a victim of the last persecution.—A pupil of Arnobius at Sicca was Lactantius, who has been held in high esteem by readers of the church fa-

thers, as well for the elegance of his style as for the subject matter of his writings. This felicity of expression gave to him the title long accorded to him of 'the Christian Cicero.' The time and place of his birth are not surely known, but Firmium, on the Adriatic, and the middle of the third century, are assigned to this event. He attained to great eminence as a teacher of rhetoric. Diocletian at one time invited him to settle at Nicomedia. Later, he having in the mean time embraced Christianity, Constantine called him to Gaul, to become the teacher of Crispus. His chief work was an "Introduction to True Religion," in seven books, which shows the falseness of the pagan religions and the vanity of the heathen philosophy; defends the claims of Christianity; sets forth the nature of righteousness, and gives instruction as to the true worship of God; and treats of rewards and punishments. Other works of his were "On the Anger of God," opposing the Epicureans and the Stoics; "On the Workmanship of God," a work setting forth the wonderful structure of the human frame; an "Epitome of the Institutes"; and "On the Manner in which Persecutors died."

To these should be added the names of Commodianus, writer of "Instructions in Favor of Christian Discipline"; Victorinus, Bishop of Petau, author of a fragment "On the Creation," and a "Commentary on the Apocalypse"; and Dionysius, Bishop of Rome, from whose hand we have a fragment "Against the Sabellians."

The above, with certain anonymous writings, among which are a number of metrical treatises—

"A Strain of Jonah the Prophet," "A Strain of Sodom," "Genesis," "A Strain of the Judgment of the Lord," and "Five Books in Reply to Marcion"—and a few doubtful treatises connected with the names of Tertullian and Cyprian, complete the list of the extant Latin writings of the period.

THE END.

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